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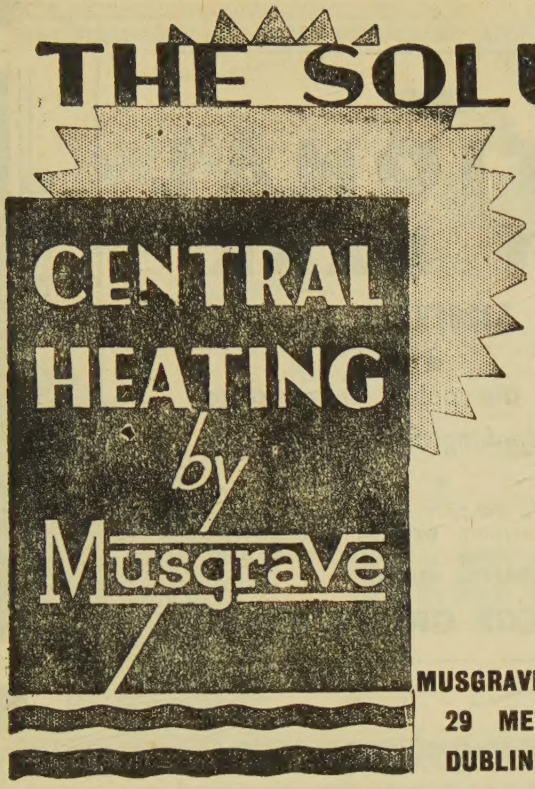

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I.—THE TIPPERARYMAN

BY DERMOT F. GLEESON, M.A., D.LITT.

THE late Father Corcoran was the son of an Ikerrin father of the Clanna Cein of Eli Ua Cearbhaill and an Upper Ormond mother who was an O'Gliosain from ' O'Kennedies' Countrie '. He himself first saw the light at Ballinamoe or Honeymount in O'Meagher's territory and so was born in the great diocese of Killaloe. These origins were present to his mind at every period of his long and notable career. They were reflected throughout his voluminous writings and were also to be noted even on the rare occasion of his conversational moods. They appeared throughout his personal correspondence with the regularity of a recurring decimal; and there were few of the many hundreds of students who passed through his lectures who were not acutely aware of them; for they found their way even on to his examination papers.

Let there be no mistake—no one knew better than he did the significance of the delimitations of the Irish tuath or barony and the English ' County'. He was well aware that the parish, the barony, and the diocese were the true historical units of Irish topography and that our Counties were set up, as Dr. MacNeill has so forcibly expressed it, " for the purposes of the gaol, the sherriff, and the hangman." Indeed he had a precise illustration to hand; for Eli Ua Cearbhaill, with its two baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybrit, have been included in the English county of Offaly since the reign of James I, although they still properly remain with Ikerrin and the Ormonds, as units of pre-Norman origin in the diocese of Killaloe and the Kingdom of Thomond. Where are we to find the explanation for this persistent and lasting affection for his native countryside? Surely in that very profundity of his historic sense. Irish history, especially that more intimate part of it which he always denominated ' regional history', was his hobby—but only of necessity. He often conveyed to one the idea that he regretted he had not made it the main work of his life. If he had done so, there can be no manner of doubt that he would have been as outstanding a figure amongst our historians as in fact he has been in the domain of education, which he made so peculiarly his own. He possessed in abundance the qualifications of a great historian—preciseness of plan, indefatigable energy in research, discontent with any result but the best possible, an unusual appreciation of the importance

of maps and plans and a remarkable ability in the making of them—and above all ' the infinite capacity for taking pains'. Besides, he possessed the priceless gift of a memory for significant detail which probably transcended his other great intellectual gifts. There seemed indeed to be some compartment of his brain which approximated to a card index and from which he could extract item after item without any apparent effort as the occasion required. On the other hand it must be said, to his infinite credit, that perhaps in him the apologetic instinct—allied, as it was, to forceful forensic expression—might have outweighed the judicial sense which must ever be the historian's crown ; for those who knew him well were ever aware that, beneath the solemn exterior, the fires of the '48 burned with a steady and unquenchable flame. As it was, he concentrated his great abilities as an historian upon that part of his own particular life-work which concerned the history of education. In this, both by his own effort and through a succession of brilliant students like Dr. Brennan, Dr. Dowling, and Dr. O'Connell, he has left a corpus of pioneer and magnificent work for the whole nation.

For the rest, throughout a great part of his life, he expended the little spare time at his disposal on the history of his native countryside in our northern Tipperary and Eli, on the men and women who had inhabited it, and on the part they had played in the story of Ireland. In this it is probable that he showed an historian's perception in advance of our time. The regional history of the parishes, of the baronies, and even of the dioceses of Ireland is still largely unwritten and the technique of its investigation uncharted ; yet it is yearly becoming more clear that until these things are done, the historian's conquest of Ireland can never be completed. The vast burden of work which constantly lay upon his shoulders, left to Dr. Corcoran but little time and opportunity for what was in effect his only relaxation. Yet in this sphere also he has some remarkable achievements to his credit. He has traced Count Walter Butler of Friedburg from his native Roscrea to his place at the dramatic death scene of Wallenstein and has noted Butler's munificent gifts to the Irish Colleges on the continent for the education of priests for the persecuted homeland. He has followed Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell in 1601 from Ballymote and Boyle across the Shannon into his native diocese at Litterluna, and thence, via the shrines at Monaincha in Ikerrin, almost past his own door at Honeymount, to Holy Cross ; and then on to his dramatic and final dash across the Ormond mountains to the ill-fated dawn at Kinsale. He took up the story again when O'Sullivan Beare set out, in the following year, upon his tragic journey across Ireland to O'Rourke's country, and marked his every step through Ormond by Latteragh, Toomeveara and Ballingarry to his crossing of the Shannon near the great bardic school of the MacEgans at Coillte Ruadh. For later times he included, in one remarkable and oft-quoted pamphlet, the story

of the penal schools, schoolmasters, and scholars of his native diocese and the shameful tale of the Charter institution at Dunkerrin, near which he was born. He probed again into the obscurities surrounding the youth of Thomas Davis, finding to his joy that a good part of it was spent near his mother's birthplace on the Ormond hillsides at Templederry and that his maternal grandfather had been one of the companions of the patriot's boyhood. As a prominent and tireless member of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, he seized at once on the importance for the local historian of the unprinted Cromwellian papers. It was no accident that the Commission's first publication should have been Mr. Simington's most competent edition of the Civil Survey of 1653; and one may reasonably suspect that it did not happen by chance that the first two of these invaluable volumes were concerned with the baronies of Tipperary. The tale could be multiplied, but enough has been said to show at once the fruitfulness of this love of his own countryside and the value of the work of such a local historian.

Tipperary people have the name of being 'clannish'. Interpreting the term in its best sense of the family association, Dr. Corcoran possessed this Tipperary quality to a very remarkable degree. Of his devotion to his own immediate relatives this is not the place to write. Suffice it to say that it stood apart from all his work, but was never allowed to interfere with it. Such things as the regular visits, the day for the weekly letter to his brother Father John Corcoran, S.J., in Australia, and the annual 'turas' to his native place and diocese knew no variation over the years. Outside the immediate circle, he compiled with great care and accuracy, from his own researches, from tombstone inscriptions personally copied, from family recollection and other sources, a complete family tree with all its branches, going back to the now destroyed MS. Census of 1821. There was no cousin, however remote, with whom he was not acquainted and few with whom he had not corresponded. The family occasions of all were observed by him to a degree which went far beyond the bounds of mere convention. The great resources at his command to advise and help were placed at the service of one and all, not only freely but gladly. The smallest success was marked by an immediate telegram; the slightest appeal for counsel was answered by a letter on the first available post and by prompt action. Nor was this sense of obligation and its fulfilment confined to the small circle of his own people. It extended, in an abundant degree, to the relatively enormous 'familia' of his students past and present, to the people of his native place, and to the great body of those for whose work he was in any manner responsible. It manifested itself, as is so well known, to the whole student body of the National University. The nearest approach to a boast which this silent and inflexible man can ever have permitted himself, must have been in a personal letter to the present writer of the 22 May 1940 in which he writes: "Our National University

Union, Dublin Centre, at 86 and 85 and Hall, St. Stephen's Green, approaches a fine reconstruction and completion these summer days. It will be doubtless opened (for Graduates and Past as well as for Undergraduates and Students) this early autumn of 1940. I feel reasonably proud of having started single-handed the plan and cash basis—the latter about £25,000 : the residual debt will be less than one tenth of this and would be nil but for the war." But perhaps the most marked and unusual feature of this ' clannishness ' was that he never for one moment would concern himself to obtain an advantage for anyone beyond his due merit. He scorned above all things to secure as a favour what he was not entitled to demand as a right.

What of the man himself—for we are here concerned neither with the priest nor the professor ? There were in essence two men—the one so carefully concealed behind the other that he seemed fearful of showing himself, so that many hardly suspected his existence. The outward man dominated the inner one who lived, as it were, on sufferance and who yet provided the vital force for the two. Everyone knew the strong methodical man of steel, who conversed, if at all, in monosyllables and who allowed himself to be ruled by the clock at least, as no Tipperaryman has been since time began. In him lived the professor, the director of research, the University Senator, the originator of plans pushed inexorably to fulfilment, the almost silent caller, and even to some large extent the man of letters. This last was perhaps unfortunate, although it provided him with a quite unmistakable style, polemically piling proof upon proof into an unassailable edifice of fact, which stood in its own stark strength and scorned the aid of any literary ornament whatever. He moved from hour to hour of his own pre-arranged time table, as a liner crosses the Atlantic, quite unimpeded by minor incidents or major catastrophe. It is related of him that on one occasion he was left alone in a Convent parlour, drafting a plan of work for the school while the nuns went to Office in the chapel. Before the Office was completed, the scheduled time for his departure had arrived. So it was that when the nuns returned, Dr. Corcoran had gone, but the sheets of his plan, carefully numbered and paragraphed, lay strewn on the parlour floor. When later asked why he left them there, he replied briefly that the floor of a Convent parlour was one place where no piece of paper could escape notice.

Behind this iron exterior was the other man—the Tipperaryman, of whom mention has already been made. He was there all the time. While the outer man was silent, the inner one carefully noted and stored away for reference everything that had seemingly passed him by. If the one seldom chuckled, the other often laughed loud and long. On rare occasions the inner man could be induced to emerge, and then one saw the whole. Each year Dr. Corcoran spent some days at Ennis—on the same dates if Sundays and the Railway Company should allow. At the

Most Reverend Dr. Fogarty's hospitable board, in his native diocese, with many of the ' clan ' around him, the Tipperary genius of his accomplished host performed annually the seeming miracle. The dual personality—the outward mask and the inner man—became as one. From the head of the table the ball of conversation was tossed to and fro with unerring accuracy, and an unending succession of information, epigram, anecdote, and humour was extracted, with the dexterity of a juggler, from the usually silent and solemn professor.

So it is that, while the nation and the National University mourn Dr. Corcoran as a figure of the greatest stature in the moulding of their educational destinies, we, who were of his native place, will preserve his memory also upon other titles. To the rulers of the State and to his colleagues in the University he was the great pedagogue. To us, in addition, he was " Father Tim". He was far prouder of his father's distinctions as the first President of the Tipperary Gaelic Athletic Association and the first Chairman of the North Tipperary County Council than he was of any of his own. This pride manifested itself most clearly in the part he played in the Gaelic Athletic Association of University College, Dublin, over so many years. The hills and valleys of the countryside that reared him were as dear to Dr. Corcoran on the day of his death as they were when he roamed them as a boy. Great academic standing and his place in high councils never dimmed his love for Honeymount or Templederry. Most of all, as we say in Ormond, he never forgot the ' old neighbours'. To one of them, who has been sustained over many years by his constant advice and encouragement, it is a privilege and an honour to pen this brief unworthy tribute in the Review which he founded and which his own pen so often adorned.

DERMOT F. GLEESON

II.—THE EDUCATIONIST

BY JOSEPH O'NEILL, M.A.
Secretary, Department of Education

THE Editor has asked me to write something about my personal experiences of working with Dr. Corcoran ; but, although I knew him for over twenty years and, during that time, found him most generous in co-operation and advice in all our work on educational problems, I find it difficult to draw on memories of personal contacts with him, owing to the fact that personal contacts did not seem to be part of his personality as we knew it in the Department of Education.

A deep fervour for education, a passionate love of Ireland, a passionate conviction of the continuity of the Ireland of to-day with the old Gaelic Ireland, an intense desire to make this manifest in the curricula and

methods of our schools, these were the main elements that made up the Dr. Corcoran I knew.

Somebody once remarked to me that, apart from the co-operation and help he gave our Department, I must have found great interest in dealing with one whose character was so full of contrasts and complications. In my dealings with him, however, I rarely met those contrasts and complications of which others told me. To me, he always appeared as an out-size epical character rather than the smaller, more complicated type novelists deal with.

This may have been partly because I never saw him with others either in social life or at conferences or committees. Whenever I met him, we were alone. He would come into the room looking like a great oak-tree, tell me exactly the time he had to spare, arrange the talk so that it would cover the ground fully and precisely in that time and, in the earlier years of our acquaintance, leave automatically when the business was done.

His presence was remote, epical, and the outlook that shaped the discussions had the same quality. His talk was about curricula, methods of teaching, values of subjects, but curricula, methods, values seen by a mind that reached naturally to the widest horizons.

In the reconstruction of the Irish State he was from the beginning the master-builder in Education. The Commissions on Education, set up in 1921, were guided so largely by him that it may be said that the curricula, aims and methods in Primary and Secondary Education which emerged from them were, in the main, the work of his hands.

In all of these, largeness of conception was the outstanding feature. I remember the comments of one foreign educationist, himself well known as a man of wide educational vision, when I put our programmes in literature and history for Secondary Schools into his hands: "They take my breath away. Can it be possible that the main body of your Secondary teachers is capable of carrying out such magnificent programmes?"

That comment summed up the nature of curricula as understood by Dr. Corcoran, great aims intended to call forth great endeavour.

That many teachers could not lift their pupils to the level of such high endeavour—many pupils could not be lifted by any teacher to such heights—would not have been accepted by him as an argument against the greatness of the aims.

Great effort, indeed, came so naturally to him that he could not see that the very greatness of his own effort often resulted in a lack of effort on the part of many of those for whom he toiled so valiantly.

Whether in fact, in his absorption in his wide visions, he ever saw the average pupil or the average teacher clearly, I could never be sure. There were times when the nature of his comments on educational work made me feel that the limitations of human nature escaped him and that

the curricula he shaped were intended, not merely as ideals rarely to be attained in their entirety, but as actual goals to be reached by the average pupil under the average teacher. There were other times when it seemed that he realised those limitations more clearly, yet hoped that the very difficulty of the struggle would, in some way, call forth the powers to meet it. Life indeed for him was, I felt, measured in terms of greatness of effort. Pupils, teachers, friends, foes who were worthy of his steel, were all seen in dimensions greater than normal, capable of efforts and intensities such as are in fact unusual in ordinary life.

It was the same quality which made him so stern a fighter on the side of the causes he made his own. He could no more fight with half measure than he could live with half his powers. I have heard it said that, in his impassioned advocacy of the great issues that filled his mind, he neither gave quarter nor expected it. I had little personal experience of this warrior side of his personality, but I did get a glimpse of his outlook on an opponent of his own calibre with whom he had waged a bitter controversy over important educational policies.

As it was the business of our Department to put some of these policies into operation, he came to the office one day to warn me that we would be likely to meet fierce opposition from this particular critic.

" If you do and if he writes either to you or to the papers denouncing your decisions," he said, " it would be better not to answer with the written word. Letters will only infuriate him. There's something in a blank sheet of paper that impels some of us to fill it with furious arguments."

" But his arguments will probably be so weighty that they will have to be answered," I said.

" Yes, but don't answer him in writing. I know how he will feel when he sees arguments in print or in writing. Better ask him to come in and talk the matter over. You won't be able to persuade him, but I think you'll find him very reasonable if you deal with him that way."

I never heard him speak of any of his numerous opponents in any other way.

It was when he spoke of his friends, however, that he emerged from the shell that usually encased him. As he spoke of them, a glow would come into his eyes. He was seeing, not the ordinary human beings others saw, but knights in shining armour, defenders of the right, " the shining lamps of the Gael ".

When he spoke of his own country-side, his University, his country, it was the same. A passionate loyalty lit up those objects of his devotion. Any suggestion of criticism of them brought out a spirit of battle. Then, more than ever, he was the warrior battling for the right.

Such an attitude of impassioned loyalty does not make for ordinary, flat realism. Consciously or unconsciously, such a fighter must lift up

the reality to the level on which it ought to be, must insist that it is always on that level. Dr. Corcoran's life was, I felt, one unending struggle to lift up reality to the level of his own high dreams.

Of his passionate love of Ireland I need hardly speak, but I feel that I should put on record the intense eagerness with which he worked to keep Ireland to the fore at all the International Conferences and gatherings which he attended. For months beforehand he would prepare for those conferences, gathering reports, time-tables, text-books, curricula, maps, photographs that would show the great rôle Ireland was playing in the educational world, put her back into that place on the European educational map that she had occupied in earlier centuries. It was all part of his impassioned defence of his own country and his own race.

As we saw him in the Department of Education, he was, indeed, a very great and passionate Irishman who identified himself completely with his country, laboured untiringly for her, fought most loyally for her, spared himself in no work that would put her in her place amongst the nations.

JOSEPH O'NEILL

III.—SOME MEMORIES

BY MAUREEN BEAUMONT, M.A.

"GUIDHIMÍS ar son an Athar Tadhg,"—I am glad that this is my last memory of a great educationist and a great Irishman, the Irish prayer offered up as we stood round his newly-filled grave in the little plot in Glasnevin reserved for the Society of Jesus. Its simplicity was more touching than any panegyric, for it expressed the affection felt for him by those who had worked with him and understood him, and it found a sad echo in our hearts—"let us pray for the soul of Father Tim." For it is as "Father Tim" we remember him since we sat under him as students long ago and he taught us to appreciate our great inheritance of Irish learning and how to pass our knowledge on to others. Stubborn to the point of grimness in his love of Ireland and in his pride in his country's traditions, perhaps he did as much to emancipate her from her slave-mind as some of those whose towering monuments proclaim their patriotism to the nation. I can still remember the gleam in his eye when he quoted for us Campion on the misfortunes of the Norman invaders "coursed into the narrow confines of the Pale from whereout they durst not peep," and the scarcely suppressed chuckle with which he gave us that telling speech of John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, at the time of the Union warning the planters in Grattan's Parliament of their more than slender title to their lands.

"He was an insular Irishman," said a friend to me lately, "and hated every Englishman". Nothing could be further from the truth. It is not

to be expected that the author of *State Policy in Irish Education* could be enthusiastic about Englishmen or English educational methods, past or present. But insular he never was. On the contrary, those who studied under him know how constantly he strove to keep European culture and education before them, trying to rebuild the bridge which had existed in the past between Ireland and the Continent and which had been destroyed during the years of conquest. If we have not succeeded in adopting the best in modern continental education, the blame does not lie at Dr. Corcoran's door.

His attitude towards Newman, too, has been, one would almost think, deliberately misunderstood of late. While appreciating Newman as a great Churchman and writer, Dr. Corcoran held that his *Idea of a University* was largely that of the Oxford of his day, the almost exclusive preserve of a ruling caste of empire-builders. To him this was very far from the tradition either of the ancient Irish universities or of the medieval universities of the Continent. He was shrewd enough to suspect that, even among these leisured classes, knowledge was not always its own end, and he was too little of a hypocrite to suggest that such a theory was an adequate basis on which to build an Irish University.

Looking back over the years since I was first privileged to know Dr. Corcoran, one thing stands out in my memory—his deep and unfailing interest in the welfare of the students in University College, Dublin. The Hurling Club, of which he was so long President, can tell what it owes to his support ; but how many of those who frequent the new Union Building in 86 St. Stephen's Green, know that his was the driving force behind the plan for its reconstruction ? He was always fond of the gardens behind 86. Many of his students will remember the oral examinations held there in the open air—" Father Tim's garden party ". In those days he often spoke to us of his plans for a proper Union Building, incorporating these gardens, to serve as a meeting ground for past as well as present students. Largely by his efforts the plan became a reality ; and, while he rejoiced in what had been achieved, it was typical of him that, save to a few personal friends, he claimed little or no credit for himself. It would be a gracious, if belated, tribute to his untiring activity if his name were to be commemorated in that building.

This same interest in the students was to be seen in an even greater degree in his own Department of Education. Those of his students who only knew him as a rather eccentric, basilisk-like Professor with the unpardonable vice of punctuality knew only one side of Father Tim. There are many who have reason to remember with gratitude the other, more human side. Illness or needy circumstances were sure to arouse his ready sympathy, and he would go to the greatest lengths to facilitate or champion the victim of misfortune. Of course he had his unapproachable moments when he seemed abrupt or even harsh, but what great man

has not such moments? And if he did feel he had received any student with scant ceremony he was always ready next day, with disarming simplicity, to make amends. Only of some things was he really intolerant—of pretentiousness and affectation and the schemer who tried to bluff at an examination. Then the floodgates of his wrath opened, and woe betide the offender!

His unsuspected human kindness was even more noticeable in his dealings with his staff and those associated with him in the work of his Department. While never sparing himself, his constant advice to them was "Conserve your energies". His one concern seemed always to be to save his staff trouble, and his forethought and careful planning greatly lightened their work. The women members of his staff especially feel that they have lost in him not alone a personal friend always solicitous for their welfare, but also a vigilant champion of their rights. He saw no reason why women should limit their activities to the home, and he constantly encouraged them in a characteristically practical way to play their part in other spheres.

These and many other thoughts of Dr. Corcoran crowded into my mind as I watched his body returning to Irish soil. Some may think of him as the Professor—aloof, abrupt, unseeing—but those of us who knew him well will always remember him as a scholar generous in sharing his knowledge, as a friend considerate and kindly, and, above all, as one of "the indomitable Irishry".

MAUREEN BEAUMONT

IV.—TRIBUTE FROM IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE MEETING HELD ON 20 APRIL 1943

The Irish Manuscripts Commission, with deep regret, places on record its sense of the heavy loss to the Commission and to the progress of modern Irish historical studies caused by the death of their colleague, Rev. Timothy Corcoran, S.J., D.Litt. The Commission, from its inception, had the benefit of his special knowledge of Latin texts, particularly those of the XVII century, and of the cartography of this and later periods. He was, up to the close of his life, assiduous in promoting many of the undertakings of the Commission, taking a particular interest in the publication of *The Civil Survey* 1654-56, and at his suggestion it was decided to undertake the publication of a collection of existing *Early Maps of Ireland*. He joined with Dr. Best in recommending the reproduction of Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum* and Stapleton's *Catechismus*. All these works are in preparation. His constant attendance at the meetings enabled the Commission frequently to call upon his advice and practical assistance in various other matters. His published works on the history of systems of education and his numerous articles on a wide range of historical subjects assure his name of an honoured place in the records of Irish scholarship.

TUBERCULOSIS: A SOCIAL PROBLEM

BY PROFESSOR T. W. T. DILLON, M.D.

A social situation becomes a social problem when the relations between a whole class of persons and Society are felt to be too far removed from the normal equilibrium. In our Society it is normal for the vast majority of the urban population to leave school at 14, to pass into some form of juvenile employment soon after leaving school, and subsequently at 16 to join the large pool of unskilled or semi-skilled labour from which are drawn the labour units required for the various branches of production. This social situation, in which the general aim and norm is a steady job at a reasonable wage, involves a certain amount of temporary unemployment at all ages. When however the number of the unemployed increase and permanent unemployment becomes a constant feature of the urban social scene, so that many young people never find work at all, then we are conscious of an abnormal strain on the whole system of social relationships. Family life, that central pivot of Society, begins to disintegrate; the State acquires an ever increasing power over the family; and we find ourselves caught in the meshes of bureaucratic totalitarianism. The problem seems to work itself out in a series of interlocking vicious circles, which are relatively impervious to outside influence. For it is a characteristic of major social problems that they are interconnected and react upon one another, though it is by no means clear which is the primary cause and which the effect. In Eire progressive urbanization and unemployment are preeminent amongst our difficulties, and they carry with them a host of other evils. How far they are both co-ordinated with, or resultant from, the marked difference which exists between the real wages of unskilled labour in town and the much lower income of agriculturists, is not our concern in this article. I am anxious rather to place tuberculosis in its social setting here in Eire, and to point out the circumstances which make it a suitable object for radical treatment.

Economists assure us that the great vicious circle of unemployment can only be broken by the unsatisfactory expedient of producing wealth which cannot be used productively or consumed; and that this remarkable cure cannot continue indefinitely without producing more insoluble problems than those which we set out to remedy. Similarly we are assured that urbanization, so far from being an evil, is an ineluctable necessity and essential to the maintenance of a high standard of living. We are therefore driven to piecemeal solutions of those sub-divisions of our difficulties, such as housing, which lend themselves to isolated treatment.

And since we are constantly reminded that finance is the limiting condition, we should choose for first treatment those social evils which promise a rapid return for relatively small expenditure. Tuberculosis is just such an evil. It is closely connected with both urbanization and unemployment, but it is not wholly dependent on them for either cause or cure. We can eradicate tuberculosis, if we want to, without altering our social system, since the cause is not inherent in the normal working of the system, though it is greatly favoured in its activity by the characteristic social evils of our time.

The cause is the Bacillus of Koch. All forms of tuberculosis are due to infection with this bacillus, and this infection always comes from outside. We do not inherit tuberculosis ; we do not develop it spontaneously ; we can only contract it by the single path of infection. This infection is, however, in the majority of human beings a relatively unimportant incident which results in no serious illness. Tuberculosis is the most curable of the chronic killing diseases in its early stages. Those who develop the dangerous disease of pthisis or consumption, which is so often only diagnosed when it is already past treatment, are a small minority whose misfortune must be due to some contributory condition favourable to its development.

From the time of Hippocrates to the present day this question of inherited predisposition to tuberculosis has been discussed. At first it was believed that the disease itself might be inherited ; later when it had been proved that the bacillus of Koch was the cause in every case, the old belief persisted that an inherited predisposition or constitution is an essential condition of the development of the disease in infected persons. It is not possible to disprove this view. Indeed there is evidence available which is easiest to explain in terms of racial or familial predisposition. But it is quite certain that this factor plays quite a minor rôle and is heavily outweighed by two other determining conditions : repeated infection and social position. The conviction that a predisposition is inherited arose originally, and still persists, because of the perfectly correct observation—that infection is apt to spread inside a family. But this is equally likely to be due to repeated infection, which in turn may be the result of ignorance alone or, more often, of ignorance and overcrowding combined. Ignorance and overcrowding, with hunger and cold, become more frequent as we pass down through the social grades. Within each grade the larger the family, the more likely are the members to suffer from hunger, cold and overcrowding ; and the likelihood increases rapidly as we pass from the lowest grade of paid labour to the unemployed.

Rowntree has pointed out, in his notable study of social conditions in York, that a large family is the commonest cause of poverty in that city. In Ireland, where families are larger than in England and where large families are much commoner, this fundamental social fact is very

evident. Even amongst paid workers great hardship often results from abundance of children. Members of a large family are therefore doubly liable to the development of tuberculosis. Repeated and massive infection occurs more readily in the large family, and when that family is crowded into one or two rooms and sleep in one or two beds, continuous proximity plays an increasingly important part. For infection in tuberculosis probably varies with the square of the distance, other things being equal. There are in Eire today 453,769 persons living in one or two rooms and, of these, 353,922 are in families with more than two members. The total number of children and adolescents up to the age of twenty living under these conditions cannot fall far short of 200,000. Here is the kernel of the tuberculosis problem. This is not the place to advance the detailed proofs that this is so. But I shall try to keep well within the limits of proved fact in the statements which I shall advance to illustrate this thesis.

Firstly, then, in every city where an attempt has been made to investigate, in relation to social position, the prevalence of tuberculosis as an active disease or the death rate from tuberculosis as a measure of prevalence, the result has always been the same : the death rate steadily increases as we go down the social scale. In Ireland we know the general death rate ; we know the death rate amongst employed and insured workers; and we can calculate from these data that the death rate amongst the unemployed must be at least three times, and probably four times, the general death rate. The following figures of death rates, taken from the Registrar General's reports for 1942, illustrate the same influence of social position on tuberculosis deaths. The extraordinary Crumlin rates, which were foretold by the Citizen's Housing Commission some years ago, are probably due in part to the high proportion of adolescents and young people in that artificial community :

Dublin Co. Borough	183	Finglas and Glasnevin	173
Crumlin	620	Donnybrook 1 and 2	156
North and South City	200	Rathmines	125

There is also evidence available, though by no means sufficient, on the factors connected with poverty which have this unfavourable effect on tuberculosis. They are principally two : insufficient food and overcrowding. It is probable that, of the two, insufficient food is the more important. In times of general food shortage the tuberculosis death rate rises steeply in all sections of the community and the differentiation between the well and badly housed tends to disappear. When food is adequate, the housing factor becomes more and more prominent. Thus, in Berlin before the last War and in England in 1938, it was easy to demonstrate that tuberculosis and bad housing were closely correlated. In Eire an investigation just completed shows no evidence of any correlation between the two. This suggests that in Eire food shortage is the most important contributory cause associated with poverty. And this is borne out by

other indirect evidence. The rise in tuberculosis death rate during the last three years, which exceeds the parallel movement in England, is most easily accounted for on the basis of a correlation with the sharp rise in food prices and the shortages of certain cheap foods; while there has been no sudden worsening of housing conditions.

The general picture of tuberculosis mortality in this country points in the same direction. The disease kills at all ages, but approximately half of those who die are between fifteen and thirty-five years of age. The disease, therefore, is most deadly in young adults, and its incidence is much higher amongst unemployed and therefore poor adolescents than amongst the employed. Now unemployment amongst adolescents is more common in Eire than in either Northern Ireland or Great Britain. Thirty per cent. of our boys were unoccupied at ages 16-17 compared with 11.3% in England and Wales and 17.2% in Northern Ireland; the proportion of girls who had not yet started to work at this age, 51.6%, was over twice as great as the English figure and considerably exceeded the Northern Ireland percentage. But these figures are even more serious than they appear at first sight, for this unemployment of juveniles is concentrated in our cities. Thus, the average unemployment in our county boroughs is 43.9% for boys of 16-17, while Belfast shows a figure of 17.0% and the fourteen principal cities of England average only 7.6%.[1]

Now poor and unemployed adolescents in Ireland may or may not receive relief according to the changing rules, whether national or local, which govern such matters; but they certainly do not receive adequate relief to pay for their food consumption, which should be at a maximum at that age, for clothes which need more frequent renewal at that period of rapid growth, not to speak of their very natural hunger for the normal amusements of adolescence. They will, therefore, during these critical years be underfed and badly clothed; and if they belong to one of those improvident families which have transgressed the maximum of five children laid down by our progressive public authorities as the limit beyond which no further unemployment relief is granted[2], they will have been underfed, badly clothed and overcrowded in childhood years for those periods during which the breadwinner was unemployed. It is, therefore, not surprising that tuberculosis is so prevalent and so deadly amongst young people in this country. And the facts set out above point to a food shortage in adolescence as one of the most likely contributory causes of that prevalence. The deaths which occur in the age period 20-35 are due to disease which has developed to a dangerous degree in the period 15-20, when the special susceptibility of that age has been accentuated by malnutrition.

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[1] Census Report (Vol. IX, p. 143).

[2] Social Workers Handbook, p. 42.

Tuberculosis is then in Eire probably correlated with malnutrition; and shows a peak of prevalence and death rate amongst unemployed adolescents and young people. Since unemployment of juveniles is an urban phenomenon in Eire, it is easy to understand the marked influence of urbanization on the prevalence of the disease. The urban tuberculosis death rate, in the years 1934-39 in Ireland, was 148 against 103 for the rural areas.[1] The death rate rose in 1940 to 161 in the towns, while the rural rate stood at 106.

I do not intend to discuss here the complicated question of the relationship between death rate and prevalence. It must suffice to say that it is probably steady over long periods of relative social stability; that it is changed by changes in the distribution of wealth; and that there is a short term variation which must make us wary of translating any sudden rise in the tuberculosis death rate into an increase of prevalence. On the whole then, over long periods during which social change was not revolutionary, the death rate may be taken as a reasonable measure of prevalence. If we accept this view we find in Ireland a steady rise, from a figure well below that of England to a figure well above the English rate in the last half of the 19th century, in prevalence as reflected in the death rate. This was a period during which urbanization in Ireland made rapid strides, both because of the fall in the country population and the rise in the town population. At the turn of the century other influences, mainly the steady rise in rural prosperity combined with more energetic public health measures, tended to bring about a fall in the death rate, which fall reached the high figure of 2.2% per annum in the period 1900-1914. Since 1926 urbanization has changed its character. The flow is now towards the larger cities, and particularly Dublin with its exceptionally high rate of adolescent unemployment. This has joined hands with rural and urban economic depression to slow up and finally flatten out the rate of decrease in death rate from tuberculosis between 1926 and 1940.

Now the death rate is rising, as we have noted above, and while we must not take this to mean a necessary increase in prevalence, it does certainly mean that conditions are now more favourable in the cities to the rapid development of the disease than they were before the War. It is quite certain, therefore, that urbanization has played a large part in these dramatic changes in our death rate. This fits in with all the evidence available from other countries, and the fall in death rate, which was such a prominent feature of our figures from 1900 to 1926, is paralleled in all the highly urbanized countries. But we have never succeeded, even when the death rate was falling fastest, in reaching the same velocity of decrease as has been generally attained elsewhere. A prominent American authority recently declared that tuberculosis is a disappearing disease and would be as rare as typhoid in a generation. This is no idle

[1] Death Rates are expressed per 100,000 living.

prophecy; it is the evident result which must follow if the rate of 3.2% per annum decrease, which has been attained on an average by the 17 countries whose death rates are lower than our own, were maintained for 31 years. Of course the yearly decrease may flatten out in these countries. But so long as peace reigned, there was no sign of this happening; and in Northern Ireland since its separation there has been a steady increase in the yearly death rate decrement, which reached 3.5% per annum in the ten years before the War. Not even the great economic depression of 1929-32 changed the slope of the downward trend. In fact in most countries it had notably increased in steepness during the last ten years before the War. The marked retrogression which has occurred during the War on the continent, and to a much less extent in England, will not in all probability affect the long term trend in the least. That was the experience after the last war, even in the blockaded countries of Central Europe, where the tuberculosis death rates rose to unheard of heights.

How do we explain this accelerated fall in the prevalence of tuberculosis in highly urbanized countries and why have we not been able to keep pace, when Northern Ireland had no such difficulty? The answer to this question is fairly clear. In other and more urbanized communities conditions were much less favourable to the development of the dangerous forms of tuberculosis. As we have seen, juvenile unemployment especially amongst young men was much higher in Eire than elsewhere, and this is true of the continental countries as well as Great Britain. Families were much smaller elsewhere, and the efforts made to guard against juvenile malnutrition by means of school meals, free milk distribution and special provision of relief in kind were on a much wider scale. It is of course true that butter, milk and bread are now distributed to the children of unemployed families in Eire, but it is easy to show that the amounts distributed are quite inadequate to meet the food needs of the older children. Besides, no such provision is made for the children of large families where the father is a wage-earner, whereas every continental country had, in the years between the two wars, adopted in some form or other family allowances for employed persons. A further difference between our position and that of other more urbanized communities[1] lies in the fact that the national income and the standard of living are linked more closely in those communities with wealth-production in cities; while in Eire, with 50% agricultural population and more than 50% of agricultural exports, the main source of wealth is in agriculture. But there is no doubt that the development of early diagnosis and treat-

[1] England has been extremely unsuccessful in reducing the death rate amongst young adults, though the general tuberculosis death rate has fallen much faster than our own. Other countries, notably U.S.A., have achieved important decreases in this age group. The argument advanced here connecting prevalence of Tuberculosis with malnutrition in adolescence is not affected by the English failure. Other factors, such as housing, localized economic depression, dangerous trades, are at work which cannot be fully discussed here.

ment, combined with organised aftercare during the long convalescence, also played a large part in the rapid decrease of prevalence in these other communities.

All these measures involve considerable expenditure. If funds are limited, it is essential to make a careful estimate of the probable return on money spent in different ways before deciding on the distribution of expenditure. It is quite possible, for instance, that it would be preferable to spend the bulk of the money available on extra food and accommodation for the patients and their families, if we had to choose between doing this and spending the money on inadequate facilities for early diagnosis and treatment in badly equipped institutions. For it is extremely questionable whether any result commensurate with the expenditure is obtained by an inadequate medical service working with defective equipment. The medical approach to the disease has a double aim in view : to cure the patient and to protect from infection those who come into contact with him. Both these ends can be achieved by early diagnosis combined with effective treatment in a well equipped institution, sufficiently prolonged to ensure that the patient will be rendered non-infectious, and followed by a prolonged convalescence under skilled medical control. But if diagnosis is late, treatment insufficient because of shortage of beds or inadequate equipment or both, and aftercare crippled for lack of personnel and funds, then the most that can be hoped for is the prolongation of life. Now it is certainly a good thing to prolong life ; but when this involves prolonging at the same time the risk of infection for others, and when the expenditure on the deficient medical services leaves no balance to be applied to providing extra food and accommodation for the patient and his family, there is no gain from the public health point of view. Indeed there might conceivably be a loss.

Economy on the campaign against tuberculosis is, however, the silliest kind of false economy. No law of diminishing returns operates to inhibit courageous spending. On the contrary it has been proved again and again that increased expenditure up to an optimum yields rapidly increasing returns. The money spent is not a recurring expenditure, if only enough is spent. If on the other hand we spend too little, we face an eternity of spending. For with an optimum expenditure we can count, with absolute certainty, on increasing the fall in death rate to the neighbourhood of 3% and on maintaining that rapid decrease for at least 20 years and probably for 30, until the disease is virtually extinct. After twenty years our expenditure would fall to about half that necessary at the present date—and slowly but steadily thereafter. We are probably spending at present about half the amount necessary to provide an adequate anti-tuberculosis service, so that the additional expenditure involved is a strictly limited capital sum which will yield a dividend of thousands of lives every year for as long as you like, plus an immense saving in yearly expenditure.

I should not state the problem in this way if it was not clear that the limiting factor in Ireland is finance, not only in the handling of tuberculosis but also in the cognate problem of hospitalization. I need only refer to a recent statement in Dail Eireann in which it was assumed that a large capital sum still available from the Sweep moneys should be placed in cold storage, so that out of the interest yielded by it the yearly expenses of the hospitals might be paid. This kind of reasoning, if it is allowed to pass unchallenged, will cripple all public health work in Ireland. When the voluntary hospitals were founded, and in the two centuries since then, nobody ever suggested that the yearly expenditure of the hospitals should be paid out of invested money. If it had been considered necessary, it is quite certain that the majority of the hospitals would never have come into existence. If the hospitals are necessary, they must be paid for by the community year by year out of the current national income by one mechanism or another, as is done in every country in the world. It is just as futile to attempt to pay their current accounts out of invested money as it would be to attempt the same for the National Schools or the Army or any other essential service. Indeed it is more futile, because investment of these capital funds in better hospital equipment and more accommodation will yield a far larger dividend, even if we measure it in pounds, shillings and pence, than it could yield either in gilt-edged investment or in any other branch of public expenditure. At the present time in Dublin it is calculated that there is a shortage of approximately 600 beds in the general hospitals and 600 beds in the accommodation for tuberculous patients. These two shortages overlap to a large extent, for the unfortunate tuberculous patients crowd into the General Hospitals where they occupy for long periods beds which could be used for other patients. Since expenditure now of a sufficient sum to provide that extra accommodation will reduce the need for accommodation rapidly as the death rate from tuberculosis falls and will reduce in equivalent measure the yearly cost, it is obvious that the money available in the Sweep Fund would be more profitably spent in providing the accommodation now than in yielding a dividend in currency liable to inflationary depreciation out of which hospital expenses may be paid in the future.

I have assumed, in the foregoing paragraphs, that the provision made for the control of tuberculosis in this country is in fact inadequate. This is not the place to give the detailed proofs of this inadequacy, but it is quite certain that we have failed in Southern Ireland to provide sufficient personnel, sufficient equipment, sufficient beds or sufficient aftercare to cope with the problem. It is extremely difficult to account for this refusal on the part of everyone concerned to face the obvious facts of the situation. It is certainly not attributable to any one section of the community, and it would be in the highest degree foolish to satisfy our uneasy conscience by making a scapegoat of this or that Department of

the Government. Certain facts, however, stand out which obviously have been instrumental to some degree in causing the extraordinary delays which have beset all efforts to remedy obvious defects.

The first such fact is the distribution of powers between two and, in some cases, three authorities. Every proposal must be approved by the Local Authority, by the Department of Local Government and Public Health, and, if it involves additional expenditure on a large scale, by the Department of Finance. Each one of these authorities is inclined to shift the blame for delay on to the shoulders of the others ; but the truth is clear, that there are too many opportunities for disagreement and delay in the game of battledore and shuttlecock which proceeds between these rival authorities.

The next fairly obvious fact which has had very serious consequences in tuberculosis and some other Public Health matters is the fidelity of departments to established traditions which may no longer be in step with the latest advances of Medical Science. There is a notorious and most disadvantageous lack of liaison between the Department of Public Health and the Local Authorities on the one hand and the medical profession on the other. The fault for this lack of contact is by no means solely on one side. The Department of Public Health has a body of experts upon whom the Minister must rely for his contacts with the profession. But these experts, by the very fact that they are full-time civil servants, lose contact to some extent with university life, the teaching hospitals and the Medical Academies. The result is that various opinions which are the very air breathed by any consultant physician or general practitioner only reach the Department as far-off echoes or through the medium of some critical public pronouncement. The obvious remedy for this very dangerous condition is the appointment of a Council of Public Health to advise the Minister on all difficult problems. Some approach to this solution has been made in recent years by the Department, which has sought and obtained the advice of outside bodies on a limited range of special subjects. It has not, however, been willing so far to accept the proffered views of the Royal Academy of Medicine on the tuberculosis problem, which were offered unsought.

The liaison between the local authorities and the dispensary doctors and general practitioners should also be closer than it is. In fact, though the relationship between the full-time M.O.H. and the dispensary doctors (who are part-time Medical Officers paid by the Local Authority) are necessarily continuous, they are not always as intimate as they should be ; and they are rarely of a kind which would provide the dispensary doctors with any easy way of expressing their opinion on the workings of a Tuberculosis Scheme or the necessity for any special developments. The medical profession as a whole has shown too little inclination to provide itself with organs of expression, though in recent years here also

there has been encouraging progress. Thus the Medical Association, which is the most widely representative body, has recently formulated a scheme for the reform of the dispensary system in the voluntary hospitals, and the Dietetic Council appointed by that body has submitted a number of important recommendations to the Government. But perhaps the most serious factor in the failure to deal with the tuberculosis problem and many other problems is the tendency to set up an elaborate organisation which has all the appearances of efficiency and to fail to supply it with adequate means to carry out the task assigned. Thus tuberculosis officers of standing and experience have been appointed to almost every county in Ireland as assistant medical officers; dispensary buildings are provided for them; they have their stethoscopes, the use of an x-ray apparatus in the County Hospital, and a supply of cod liver oil. But there is no adequate provision, in the vast majority of cases, for modern treatment or aftercare. This facade mentality is the chief bane of public activities in this country; it cannot be exposed too ruthlessly or too often.

To bewail our shortcomings in the past is only useful as an introduction to concrete proposals for the future. The atmosphere is now much more hopeful than it was some years ago, when the Royal Academy of Medicine began to re-awaken public interest in the matter; and the Red Cross, which has taken on the task of formulating proposals, is sure of a sympathetic hearing both from the public and the profession. The Department of Public Health has been most co-operative from the start of the Red Cross Campaign, and it has greatly facilitated our task. I cannot speak in this article for the Red Cross Anti-Tuberculosis Section, but I am fairly confident that there is nothing in the brief sketch which follows which would give rise to any disagreement amongst experts.

A successful anti-tuberculosis campaign turns on three things: early diagnosis; intensive treatment immediately when the diagnosis has been made; and provision for the patient and his family in the widest sense until his convalescence is complete. Early diagnosis is best achieved by a combination of Tuberculin Testing and radiography. Modern science has supplied in the miniature film technique a most useful instrument for covering rapidly large numbers of people liable to develop the disease. Its advantages are that it is more rapid in operation than the ordinary x-ray film photography and that the cost per head is very small once the large initial expenses have been paid. One should not, however, exaggerate the importance of mass miniature radiography, more particularly as it will hardly be possible to procure an apparatus in Southern Ireland until after the War. On the continent, and particularly in Germany, excellent survey work was being done twenty years ago with a simple screening technique which costs even less than miniature radiography and is probably almost as accurate in the hands of experts.

Adequate intensive treatment calls for sufficient beds and complete surgical equipment in every sanatorium. The treatment of Pulmonary

Tuberculosis is becoming every year more surgical. It needs close co-operation between physician, radiologist and surgeon at all stages of treatment, and this can only be maintained successfully if the sanatorium is suitably staffed and equipped.

This diagnostic and therapeutic approach to the problem will, however, only bear fruit if it is dovetailed into an attack on the social evils which have been set forth in this article. There is of course no doubt that the best way to deal with tuberculosis in its social aspects would be to solve the great problems of unemployment, urbanization and malnutrition, and we must not underestimate the advances which have been made in attacking these problems, especially malnutrition in recent years. Yet when we make full acknowledgement of all that has been done, there yet remains the fact that if a wage-earner with a family or a mother with young children develops tuberculosis, the purely economic difficulties are still almost insuperable obstacles in the way of treatment. The result is delay in diagnosis and too early return to work from the sanatorium. Since it is clearly in the interest of the whole community to eradicate this infection as soon as possible, we should face the obvious implications of these economic facts. We must make it safe for the worker to admit that he is tubercular at an early stage by providing for his wife and children on a generous scale. We must make sure that his convalescence is not impeded and curtailed by anxiety for his dependents ; and the same applies to the mother or to the young man or woman who may be supporting his family in whole or in part.

Finally we must provide training and alternative occupations for those who will never be able to undertake the heavy work which provided their livelihood before they became ill. This work of physical and mental reconstruction is essential, if we are to attract and hold the collaboration of all members of the community in our campaign against the disease. It will not cost such large sums of money as is often vaguely supposed. Already an unemployed family of a man and his wife and two children receives, when out of benefit, eighteen and sixpence in cash and six shillings in food vouchers exchangeable for bread, milk and butter. The cost of feeding a child increases with age, reaching the adult level at about age 15 for boys and 13-14 for girls. At present prices the full adult cost for a diet containing adequate amounts of all nutrients, including mineral and vitamins, amounts at least to 7s. 6d.[1] per week. This is of course the lowest cost at which such a diet can be obtained, and there is no allowance made for luxuries of any kind. Therefore the present rate of allowances to the unemployed man with a wife and two children is barely adequate to supply food, and that only if we assume that the children are both 7-10 years of age. If the family is larger, the inadequacy becomes greater since the additional allowances for each child decreases, so that man and

[1] Calculated from standard food tables and average retail prices published quarterly in the *Irish Trade Journal*.

wife and five children only get 23s. plus 12s. in vouchers making in all 35s. and free fuel. The bare food costs for this family cannot fall below 32s., and the balance of 3s. must serve for rent and other necessities. In actual fact, of course, social surveys have shown that food alone never represents more than 60% of total living cost. The figure approaches 40% in England, and is probably at about the same level in employed urban families in Eire. The deficit, therefore, for the large family at present costs is at least 30% of minimum needs and grows rapidly as the children grow older and need more food and clothing and separate sleeping accommodation.

In practice the families of tuberculous breadwinners are in the same position as the ordinary unemployed man, since the patient is only entitled to 15s. weekly from the National Health Insurance Society and he must seek the balance from the relieving officer who limits his subventions to the amount necessary to make up the income to the standard assistance level. It is clear that it is necessary to increase the allowances for dependents, to make special provision for grants towards furniture, clothes and rent expenses for families with a tuberculous member, and to remove the ugly discrimination against large families which arises from the diminishing dependent allowance for each successive child and the cessation of all increase in the allowance after the fifth child. I understand that the Government has recently authorised the Local Authorities to make some additional allowance to tuberculous families, so that we may look forward to a rapid development along those lines.

The difficult problem of retraining the patients for an active wage-earning life is too large to open up at the end of a long article. The experience gained in various other countries is however available to guide us, and there should be no insuperable difficulty in adapting it to our needs.

The main conclusions which emerge from the facts and arguments collected here may be gathered together in a final abbreviated form.

Tuberculosis is a curable and preventable disease. We must attack it not only with medical, but also with social weapons; juvenile unemployment and malnutrition are important factors in favouring its spread.

We shall need to spend about twice as much as we are now spending on the disease, if we intend to eradicate it. But we shall save far more money hereafter than we must spend now, if we spend *enough* now.

T. W. T. Dillon

IRELAND IN THE SEVEN YEARS WAR

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

AS long ago as 1897 the late Dr. Henebry published in the first volume of the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* an inferior text of a poem by Father Liam Inglis, O.S.A., written most probably in 1757, in which a comic account is given of the origin of the great war then raging in Germany, America, and India between the King of Prussia and his English allies on the one side and a coalition of four Great Powers—Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden—on the other. The poem was entitled *Leastar an Bhráthar*, or *The Brother's Firkin.* In 1937 Dr. Risteárd Ó Foghludha printed a much improved version of it in his collected edition of the works of Father Inglis. It begins with a vigorous curse on every member of a religious order who takes any interest in butter or buttermilk, and goes on to tell of the disgrace that has befallen Ireland—*fuair sí masla a leanfaidh go brách di*—because of a certain firkin of butter collected in the way of charity by a nameless brother and offered for sale in the city of Cork. " Every race in the world came to claim its colours in the brother's firkin." There was a green stripe in it for Ireland, a red for England, a white for France, a yellow for Spain, a blue for Sweden, and even a dun stripe for the pirates of Africa. The only potentates whose colours were not to be found in the butter were the Stuart claimant to the crown of England, the Pope—

creidim gur éag le h-éad an Pápa
Ná fuair mír Pheadair de'n leastar mar ghnáthamh

—and the King of Prussia, whose rage was so great at the insulting omission that he at once declared war on the Empress of Austria :—

Doghlac rí Pruise cnumh an lá san
Ná fuair roinn de'n im seo an bhráthar,
Nochtann a cholg go h-obann 'na láimh dheis
Is cuireann cogadh go h-ullamh ar Mháire.

The upshot was a universal conflict on the Continent :—

Tá an Eóraip uile 'n-a chuimil-a-mhála
I dtaobh an ime seo chruinnigh an bráthair.

The humour of the poem reminds us forcibly of the comic origin of the Peloponnesian War as described by Aristophanes in his *Acharnians*, where we are told how " Olympian Pericles, in wrath, fulmined o'er Greece and set her in a broil " because of a couple of Aspasia's wenches who had been kidnapped by the Megarians. Father Inglis, who lived most of his life in Munster, was quite well informed about the tremendous events that were happening in Europe, and his poems throw a curious

light on the public opinion of Catholic Ireland at the time, when, although in Lecky's words there was " a perfect absence of disturbance " among the people, many thousands of Irishmen were serving in the armies of France and hoping for a chance to restore their country to its rightful King. It is commonly supposed that, after the disastrous failure of Prince Charles in 1745, the interest of Ireland in the Stuarts soon disappeared. These poems and others like them show that this was far from being the case.

On the contrary, circumstances in 1756 and for a few years afterwards must have seemed, if anything, far more favourable to the old cause than at any time since the Treaty of Limerick. Chief among these circumstances was of course the fact that by the Treaty of Versailles, signed on May 1, 1756, the old rivalry between France and Austria had been laid aside, and the two great Catholic powers, backed by the might of Russia and favoured by the Pope, had made common cause against the usurping Hanoverians and the upstart Prussians. In spite of the general infidelity of the age, the war that ensued was rightly enough felt by millions on both sides to be a religious struggle; and Clement XIII, when he presented the victor of Hochkirch with a consecrated hat and sword, had a much sounder idea of what was really at stake than either the contemporary English followers of John Wesley or the freethinker Carlyle when nearly a century later he laughably tried to represent Frederick II as a sort of unconscious Protestant hero.

In his not very judicious book, *The Irish Abroad*, published in 1915, Mr. Elliot O'Donnell remarks that " the history of the Irish in Austria may be said to date from the day Frederick the Great declared war on Maria Theresa . . . As soon as the news reached Ireland that the young Queen needed recruits for her army, there was a rush of Celtic ' young bloods ' to Vienna." If this refers to the date December 16, 1740, when Frederick, by his sudden invasion of Silesia, began the War of the Austrian Succession, it is rather an exaggerated statement. There is little evidence of any marked Irish sentiment in Maria Theresa's favour until the " diplomatic revolution " engineered by Kaunitz and Bernis in 1756 made her the ally of France against England. In the earlier war she had the help of England against Prussia, and the hated Hanoverians were aiding her righteous cause against Frederick's unwarranted and scandalous aggression when they fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy. Cardinal Fleury's old age and indecision and Belleisle's appetite for adventure, added to the ancient French jealousy of the Habsburgs, had in fact committed France to the wrong side in a most unjust enterprise, and the cause of the Stuarts must be said to have been morally compromised by the very uneasy alliance between Louis XV and Frederick. Undoubtedly Macaulay's famous sentence about black men fighting on the coast of Coromandel and red men scalping each other by the Great Lakes of

North America in order that Frederick " might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend," is one-sided and unfair. The English as well as the French and the Prussian king had their own game to play. The fact remains that the French took the wrong side and played only a poor game in spite of Roucoux, Lauffeldt, and Bergen-op-Zoom.

These moral considerations, however, had no appeal at all to the Irish Jacobites. They had one only enemy, and although it was impossible for them to strike him at home, they gave what help they could to Prince Charlie. In Ireland the poets reached their highest pitch of fervour at this time, and Pierce Fitzgerald's famous song of joy at the anticipated coming of the Prince—*mo Shéasar glé gan gruaim*—must surely be dated, with Tomás Ó Flannghaile, to the interval between Fontenoy and the landing in Scotland, rather than, with Dr. Ó Foghludha, to somewhere about 1750. Readers of Professor Corkery's *Hidden Ireland* are familiar also with the story of how the fall of the outlying forts of Bergen-op-Zoom to Lally and the Irish Brigade was celebrated by the illumination of Galway on October 23, 1747.

One result of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed in October, 1748, was that the Stuarts were compelled to leave Paris, where they had found shelter since the battle of the Boyne and where James II was buried, and to take up residence in Rome. This is probably the reference in a rather puzzling verse of an Irish poem, *Mo Léir-Scrios Greadaithe*, which is printed as no. 36 in Dr. Ó Foghludha's little collection of work by the family of O Súilleabháin Chaoil, *Cois na Ruachtaighe*, published in 1938. The verse runs :—

Tá Séamus Breatan in eaglais mhór Íosa
Is Éadbhard fairis 'n-a shagart 'san Róimh, innsid,
Séarlas airgthe a Sacsaibh gan dóigh fillte,
Is dá réir, sin Banba i nglasaibh gan cóir saoirse.

The author of this poem seems to be Proinnsias Ó Súilleabháin, whose death is put by Dr. Ó Foghludha in or about 1760 ; there does not appear to be any certain evidence on the point. Clearly *Éadbhard* in the second line of the passage quoted is a mistake for *Enri*. What exactly the first line means it is difficult to decide. One is almost tempted to think it contains some reference to the great Jesuit church, the Gesú. In any case the safest date for the poem is not 1746, as Dr. Ó Foghludha gives it, but sometime after October 1748.

The removal of the Stuarts to Rome must have considerably depressed Irish hopes ; but their cause had still vigour in it, and by 1750 it had revived so much that Prince Charles himself is said to have come to London in disguise.[1] Recruiting in Ireland for the Irish Brigade, which had fallen off as a result of the peace, began to pick up when it became

[1] O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish Brigade*, p. 506, note, based apparently on Lord Mahon's *History of England*.

evident that a fresh war was coming between France and England. The story of Morty Oge O'Sullivan's tragic end when engaged in enlisting men for the French service about Berehaven in 1754 is well known. In *Cois na Ruachtaighe* Dr. Ó Foghludha reprints both an elegy on him by Mícheál Ó Longáin the elder and a companion piece, the lament for his own fate of Morty's follower, Domhnall Ó Conaill, who was caught and hanged a few months after his master's death.[1] This latter poem, it may be remarked, is particularly worthy of study, both for its spirit and its historical content. In spirit it reminds us forcibly of the mentality so wonderfully reproduced in *Waverley*, with its mixture of reproach and worship for the daredevil leader who had brought his follower to death. From it we learn also something of the status of this Irish gentleman whom the government of Dublin treated as a miscreant. He was the bearer of a Spanish title, had been a captain in the Royal Guard of France, promoted colonel after Fontenoy and wounded fighting under Saxe at Lauffeldt in 1747.

The butter which is the comic theme of *Leastar an Bhráthar* reminds us of an aspect of the contemporary situation which was to assume increasing importance with the final eclipse of the Stuarts. In the poem *Mo Léir-Scrios Greadaithe*, already referred to, the last verse sounds like a kind of scornful " good-bye to all that " :—

Éist det ghlagaireacht feasta is det ghleó caointe—
Tá scéal is fearra ná h'aiste i mbeól daoine,
Scéal ar leastair is ar mhartaibh i dtreó a ndíola,
Is scéal ar thalamh á ghlacadh i gcómhair smisteach.

The preceding poem to this, *Lagadh na Féile* (no. 35), is in a similar key. The old merriment, hospitality, and generosity are gone, and their place is being taken by butter and its makings :—

Mo chráidhteacht gan ádhbhar suilt dá shníomh ná greann,
Dánta le cláirsigh ná gaois dá labhairt
Ón mBlárnain 'san lán san go Baoi is leastall
'San áit sin gan trácht air acht im nó a adhbhar.

All during the early part of the century, as a result of the Penal Laws and similar measures, there had been at work a strong tendency to convert arable into pasture land and, as a natural concomitant, a steady development of the provision trade, which at that time found ready markets on the Continent, especially when war put beef and butter at a premium.

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[1] There is an elaborate account of the episode, with a text and translation of Ó Conaill's poem, in the first volume of the *Journal of the Cork Archaeological Society* (1892), pp. 95 and 116. The poems are nos. 39 and 40 in *Cois na Ruachtaighe*. The date 1754 is fixed by the last verse of no. 39, but O'Callaghan, *Irish Brigade*, p. 502, gives 1756. So does Dr. R. Hayes, *Ireland and Irishmen in the French Revolution*, p. 255. In no. 40 there is mention of a lace suit given to Morty Oge by the wife of Lord Clare, who did not marry till 1755. Mr. Seán Ó Súilleabháin informs me that the last two words of v. 18, printed by Dr. Ó F. as *ar fheidhme*, are traditionally given as *mar ainnseal*, " a handsel."

Already in 1737 a pamphleteer, quoted by Lecky,[1] declared that " Ireland, inconsiderable as it is in extent, hath exported more beef for many years than all the rest of Europe." This tendency was greatly strengthened by the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1756. Two years later, the free import of cattle into England for five years was permitted, and their price was enormously raised.

The resulting decline of tillage, coupled with the prohibition of recruiting for the Irish Brigade, had momentous social and political, as well as economic, effects. It is undoubtedly significant that the Whiteboy agitation, in which exiles back from France were sometimes implicated,[2] began to make itself felt for the first time towards the end of the Seven Years War. It was the instinctive answer of the Munster peasant to the new conditions and was to be the predecessor of many formidable movements, the latest of which, the Land League, had its origin in a similar combination of economic discontent and military leadership.[3] In the cities and towns, on the other hand, the Catholics began to make large fortunes; perhaps the most striking case is that of Edward Byrne " a sugar-baker, a seller of wine and other commodities," who was paying £100,000 a year in taxes in 1792.[4] Modern Ireland, national as well as social and economic, has its roots in the series of convulsive changes which reached their climax in the Seven Years War.

That the Jacobite cause was still far from lost after Culloden is shown very clearly by the curious circumstance that in 1750 Frederick II was represented at Paris by the famous Earl Marischal of Scotland, George Keith, who had taken part in the risings of 1715 and 1719 and whose soldier brother, James, was one of the king's few real personal friends; while Louis XV had as his Minister in Berlin the Earl of Tirconnel, Richard Francis Talbot, whose capacities as a *gourmand* made an impression on Voltaire, and who died at his post in 1752. It appears that at this time even Frederick was inclined to coquet with the Stuarts, out of spite against his future ally, George II. The final rapprochment between Austria and France was brought about, after a tangled series of negotiations, as the result of the Convention of Westminster signed by the Prussian and English governments on January 16, 1756. By this agreement Frederick guaranteed the neutrality of Hanover as against France, with whom England had been at war since the previous year. Partisans of both sides continue even to the present day to argue as to whether Frederick or Maria Theresa was the real aggressor, and there is something to be said for either view. Frederick does seem to have long meditated adding

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[1] Vol. I, p. 224.

[2] O'Callaghan, p. 502.

[3] The Land League, in its most active manifestations, is best understood as the new form taken by Fenianism after its failure in the field.

[4] Gwynn, *Henry Grattan and His Times*, p. 266, who compares him to Guinness today. He was John Keogh's colleague in the Catholic Committee.

Saxony to his dominions by a fresh *coup* similar to the Silesian one of 1740, while the Empress-Queen was determined to recover her province, which she regarded as lost equally to the Catholic faith and to the Habsburg crown.

The sudden invasion of Saxony, on August 29, 1756, was a typical example of the Prussian "offensive-defensive" technique, of which subsequent history has known many famous examples. Even English historians are inclined to smile at Pitt's rhetorical description of Frederick as "the unshaken bulwark of Europe against the most powerful and malignant conspiracy that ever yet has threatened the independence of mankind." Apart from his unequalled military establishment—a standing army of 140,000 to a population of less than five millions—Frederick had one enormous advantage over all other rulers, which has stood him in good stead to this day. He was a "philosopher," the darling of the French intellectuals, and although by 1756 he had had his famous quarrel with Voltaire, it remains true that the latter and his other French admirers served him as a marvellous "fifth column." Their support, his own military genius, his unbreakable resolution in adversity, and the untimely death of Elizabeth of Russia brought him victorious out of a struggle in which his annihilation seemed again and again to be assured.

The commencement of the war found Irish exiles in positions of great influence in the two main centres of the "malignant conspiracy," France and Austria. In France Lally Tollendal, who had gained great distinction in the previous contest, was one of the King's chief military advisers, and in 1755 recommended three simultaneous measures: a descent with Prince Charles on England, and the conquest of the English possessions in North America and India. It proved his own misfortune and France's disgrace that the third enterprise was entrusted to himself. In Austria the first shock of Frederick's invasion of Saxony was withstood by an army commanded by Field-Marshal Count Browne, who fell in 1757 at the battle of Prague. His successor, Count Daun, had as his chief collaborator, in the Fabian strategy for which he was famous, Franz Moritz Count Lacy, or Lascy, son of a renowned Irish Field-Marshal in the Russian service. Immediately on the outbreak of the war Prince Charles was again brought back from Rome to Paris, and the renewed threat of a French invasion hung over England for the next three years. In the spring of 1756 this threat was used as a cover for Richelieu's successful descent on Minorca (defended by a small force under an Irish Protestant, General Blakeney) as a result of which the English Admiral Byng was courtmartialled and shot—"pour encourager les autres," as the French said. One of Father Inglis's poems (no. 27) is a rather ruthless song of rejoicing over Byng's fate, with a repeated refrain:—

Is binn linn Byng is an bás n-a bheól!

Two other poems (nos. 14 and 15), entitled respectively *An t-Aodhaire Óg* and *Póiní an Leasa* and composed probably about this time, are expressions of joy at the anticipated restoration of the Stuarts.

Frederick's invasion of Saxony was completely successful. The small Saxon army was blockaded at Pirna, and an attempt by Browne to relieve it was foiled at Lobositz (October 1, 1756). The Austrians, though they had the worse of the encounter, fought far better than had been expected, and during the winter the Empress's generals had time both to gather a larger force and to draw closer the alliance with France and Russia. As a result of these measures the Allies, with Sweden, are said to have put 450,000 men into the field in 1757. On the other side, the fall of Newcastle's government and the accession of Pitt to power in England was to have immense consequences. Though dismissed after five months in office, Pitt was soon recalled, owing to popular clamour, and remained the unwavering supporter of Prussia's cause.

The year 1757 was a year of tremendous military events. Frederick invaded Bohemia, defeated Browne, who was mortally wounded, in a bloody and famous battle outside Prague, and shut up 46,000 Austrian soldiers in that city. Six weeks later, however, he suffered his first serious defeat at Kollin, a few miles south of Prague, where he had attacked Browne's successor, Daun, in a very strong position. Prague was thus relieved, and the Prussians were forced to evacuate Bohemia. At the same time, things went badly for Frederick's ally, the Duke of Cumberland, who was defending Hanover against the French, thus covering Prussia from the west. The Duke was defeated, though not very decisively, at Hastenbeck and allowed himself to be hustled northwards, away from the Prussian borders, till he reached the mouth of the Elbe, where he finally found himself forced to capitulate. The Convention of Kloster Seven opened all North and West Germany to the French, and Frederick seemed already ruined.

The news of these great events found vivacious expression in Irish poetry, and Count Daun—whose name was made to rhyme with *Prág*—became at once almost a national hero. One of Father Inglis's poems (no. 19) is clearly a song of triumph for Kollin. It begins :—

An eól díbhse, a dhaoine i bhfonn Fáil,
Seóirse go claoidhte 's i lom-ghábha?

and its third verse is a boast on Frederick's failure to take Prague :—

Geallaimse díbhse nár gabhadh Prág
Is go mairid a mhílidh 's gur teann táid,
Do fearadh go fíochmhar
An deabhaidh le fír-nimh,
Is do greadadh an Rí anois le Count Daun.

In a later verse there is a complimentary reference to Browne, and

hearers or readers are assured that the alliance between Prussia and England is shattered and that the Stuart will soon return :—

Tá tóirneach ar bóchna agus foghail ghnáth
Agus gheóbhthar poll dóighte 'sa chomhlán
Airgfidh Laoiseach
A mbailte is a dtiortha,
Is casfaidh an Stíobhart go ceann-árd.

Another poem (no. 21), beginning

Is ró-dhían a sgreadann an sean-duine Seóirse,

is by way of a lament for his misfortunes put into the mouth of George II. It has a reference to the Russians, who had overrun East Prussia after the defeat at Kollin, and another to the Swedes who were preparing to invade Pomerania. King George has no friends left ; the Prussians are beaten, their hearts broken ; there is no shelter in Britain nor Ireland ; " Scotland is not loyal to me since I cut her throat " ; the remnant of Calvin is deserted by the Powers ; this year will see the end, and soon " Peter's clever clergy " will be assured of their future, and all the practices and rites of their church restored.

A similar note is struck in a curious little triad of poems published by Dr. Ó Foghludha in the *Irish Press* for September 30, 1939. The first is a single *rann* of four verses addressed to a certain well-known Father Domhnall Ó Briain by a farmer from the district of Emly in Tipperary. The writer complains that he is ruined with the rent. Parker (evidently the bailiff) has his cow, and his children are destitute. " Send me a letter from your hand—is there any comfort for me, or must I leave the country?" To this heartfelt appeal the priest sends a most opportune reply :—

Atá san re-n' fhagháil duit, is árduigh do chroidhe
Do h-iompuigheadh an cárda—tá an báire seo linn ;
Atá Pruise ar lár is a ghárda gan bhrígh,
Is tá Count Daun sa tárr ag baint sásaimh 'sa ghníomh.

" By St. Patrick's Day," goes on the poem, " you will get your full share of wine, and O'Hara's cup will be on this table sweetly. Charles is well, and the troops of his host with their flags high are joyfully on their way . . . A Nuncio will come from the Pope of Rome, there will be no more Acts to imprison the Brothers, there will be no Protestants strong from Aran to Boyne—and on that day you will get your cow from Parker ! " The third poem is the farmer's reply, which begins as a song of joy and ends with an anticipatory notice to quit to all the Protestants in Munster :—

Beidh Halster is Séicear is Béicear gan brígh
Swaddlers is Quakers 's gach aon eile dhíobh.

So excited is the poet by the prospect which Daun's victory has opened up, that he breaks into English :—

Beidh ministir taidhbhseach gan saghdar gan leann,
Is sursaing ar Thadhg 's é á leadhbadh go teann

Tóg leat do Bhible, it's time to be gone—
Tú féin is your wife, is gan aimhreas do chlann!

There can be nothing more certain than that these vigorous lines clearly reflect the sentiments of the ordinary native Irish in 1757. Indeed this attitude towards the foreigners who had taken the land and imposed by law their strange religion persisted with very little change down to almost our own times.

The jubilation induced by Daun's first success did not last long. Within less than two months after the Convention of Kloster Seven Frederick had turned on the victorious, but poorly led, French army and, although having only half its numbers, inflicted on it a resounding defeat at Rossbach. Exactly one month later, on December 5, 1757, he was back in Silesia to win the greatest of all his victories over Prince Charles of Austria at Leuthen. These two battles changed the whole course of the war, though they were very far as yet from deciding it in Frederick's favour. Of the two, Rossbach had perhaps the more far-reaching consequences. It convinced the English that Hanover could yet be defended. They repudiated Cumberland's capitulation, guaranteed a large subsidy to Frederick, and re-established the Hanoverian army, which was now placed under the command of one of Frederick's most brilliant generals, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. In June 1758, Ferdinand defeated the French at Crefeld. At last a capable French commander, the Marquis de Contades, was sent to take charge in North-west Germany, and shortly afterwards the Duc de Choiseul became chief Minister and infused new energy into the war. The upshot, however, was the severe defeat of Contades by Ferdinand at Minden on August 1, 1759, which marked the virtual end of French offensive operations in Germany.

If 1757 was Frederick's "wonderful year," 1759 was that of Pitt. Minden was followed by the destruction of the Toulon fleet off Cape St. Vincent on August 16, and this again by that of the Brest fleet at Quiberon Bay on November 20. For Ireland these two English naval victories were of the greatest significance. They meant the frustration of a great plan for the invasion of Ireland drawn up by Belleisle as a corollary to the offensive in Germany. Twenty-five thousand men, with 20,000 stand of arms, were to have been landed in Munster, commanded by the Duc d'Aiguillon and by Charles O'Brien, Lord Clare. Quiberon Bay put a total end to this grandiose scheme; the only part of it carried into effect was the gallant venture of Admiral Thurot.

The Irish cavalry regiment of Fitz-James was at Rossbach,[1] where it earned great credit by the support it gave the Austrian cavalry against the destructive charges of Seydlitz's Prussians. For the period between Rossbach and Minden we have an Irish poem by Father Inglis (no. 23)

[1] For an account of Thomas Betagh, Colonel-Commandant of FitzJames's cavalry regiment at Rossbach, see STUDIES, March 1942, p. 119.

which is wrongly dated 1757 by Dr. Ó Foghludha. The references to Contades and to Montcalm's victory over Amherst at Ticonderoga on August 25, 1758, show that it must belong to the latter year. Its third line seems to refer to the success of Daun and Laudon at Olmütz in May, when the latter destroyed a great Prussian convoy :—

Atá Daun an curadh go cumasach tréan
Is dar leat is dubhach atá a námhaid.

In August 1758, Frederick fought his first great battle against the Russians at Zorndorf in Brandenburg. It was the bloodiest battle in all the war, and though won by Frederick, cost him 11,500 men to the 21,000 lost by the Russians. The lines

Ní tláth na Ruisigh i siosma na bpléar
Ní táir an ursa iad ag druidim le baoghal

are clearly a tribute to the astonishing Russian powers of resistance, which were first fully displayed at Zorndorf. It was this battle that suggested to Carlyle his famous comparison with the Minotaur. Father Inglis rather pathetically describes Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick as being *i riocht puic gan treoir* before the skill of Contades. He is sarcastic about the plight of Boscawen's fleet, which next year was to win Cape St. Vincent, and about the disaster which befel an English landing-party at St. Cast near Dinan.[1] Like many of Father Inglis's poems, this one is an adaptation of an old popular song, each verse ending *Is fágaimíd siúd mar atá sé !*

Laudon is once referred to by name in another poem (no. 34) where there appears to be a textual difficulty. This poem has a lovely old refrain, *Maidean bhog aoibhinn choidhche in Éirinn O !*, and is entitled *Brón-chor na Buidhne-se san nGearmáin.* Its third verse runs thus :—

Atá Pruise insa chlampar gan teannta gan taca
Gan duine ar an domhan do ghlacfadh a pháirt,
Atá Ruise i longphort chum foghla ag faire,
Is brisfidh ar Loudoun ag Marascal Daun.

In his note on this verse Dr. Ó Foghludha identifies Loudoun with the Scotch earl who fought against Prince Charles at Preston and Inverness and was in command of an English army in America from 1756 on. It is highly improbable that he can be the person referred to here, in a context whose whole bearing is on the German war. Furthermore there could be no question of Daun's defeating an English general in America. The reference is certainly to Daun's second-in-command, who was probably the ablest general on the Franco-Austrian side in this war. He was also of Scotch origin, but his family was descended from an emigrant to Livonia in the 14th century, and he had spent ten years in the

[1] Dr. Ó Foghludha puzzlingly identifies " St. Cas " with a village called St. Cassien near Quebec. The incident is narrated by Lecky, *History of England*, vol. II, p. 492. The analogy with the modern " commando-raids " is obvious.

Russian service and had been rejected by Frederick the Great, who found him " displeasing," before entering the Austrian army. At Hochkirch in 1758 Frederick was surprised as the result of a plan suggested by Laudon, and at Kunersdorf in 1759 Laudon's cavalry charge decided the day against the Prussian King in the most terrible of his defeats. There must be some textual error in this line, where Laudon is mentioned as likely to be beaten by his own commander-in-chief. Perhaps it ought to read *Is brisfidh air Loudoun is Marascal Daun ;* it would then be a prophecy that the two Austrian generals should beat Frederick. All that can be said as to the date of this poem is that it must have been written at some time after the affair of the Olmütz convoy, when Laudon first became famous.

While the English were everywhere successful, Frederick's difficulties grew greater and greater. Twelve days after Minden, he suffered the shattering disaster of Kunersdorf (August 12, 1759) which brought him to such despair that he actually took steps to resign his crown and spoke of ending his life with the poison he always carried. The inactivity of Daun and the incapacity of the Russians and Austrians to co-operate saved him by a hair's breadth. In November, owing to the skill of Lacy, his general, Finck, was forced to capitulate with 12,000 men at Maxen, and the Austrians were able to hold Saxony. The next two years (1760-61), although Frederick defeated Laudon at Liegnitz (August 15, 1760) and Daun at Torgau (November 3, 1760), were years of continual misfortune for him. A joint force of Austrians and Russians actually seized Berlin, and by Laudon's brilliant surprise capture of Schweidnitz (October 1, 1761) he was practically shut out from Silesia, while the Russians held a secure grip on East Prussia and Brandenburg. Exhausted as were his enemies, his case was far worse, and he was at his last gasp when the Czarina Elizabeth died in January 1762. " The death of the snake is the death of the poison," said Frederick.

Elizabeth's half-witted nephew, Peter III, was one of Frederick's most devoted admirers. Not only did he at once withdraw from the war, but he even made an alliance with the king whom his predecessor had done so much to crush. His wife, Catharine, had him deposed in six months, but she confirmed the peace with Prussia. Sweden, too, withdrew from the war, as did France by the peace of Paris in February, 1763. France had lost both Canada and India in the interval since Minden, and Pitt had resigned in October 1761. His successor, Bute, was only too glad to be rid of the war, although he was forced to let it drag on for over a year owing to complications with Spain. His withdrawal left Prussia in the lurch and earned the lasting anger of Frederick against England ; but Austria was now too weak to act alone, and she also made peace in February 1763. Thus ended the last hope of a Jacobite restoration and the last chance for the revival of the old Gaelic order in Ireland.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

THE APPROACH TO CRITICISM*

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J.

THE mischief of the art of criticism is that it seems inevitably to aim at laying the foundations of houses already built. It is an art about art; so that if art be the right way of making things not yet made, then criticism is the right way of making things already made. It is therefore a direction on how to do work to the man who has done it by one who, presumably, would have done it if he had had the ability. For the critic apparently is not concerned with reality and truth. He is only concerned with another man's opinion or view of truth, or rather with the way in which that opinion was formed. And this futility can go on for ever. A critic may give his opinion of a dramatist and a biographer give his opinion of the critic and another critic of the biographer. Every one of the many essays on Boswell expresses or implies the mind of the writer on Boswell's mind on Johnson's mind on the minds of the English poets on anything at all. Consider the analogous hypothesis of a law penalising juries or judges for declaring the guilty innocent or the innocent guilty. After every trial there would need to be another trial at the public expense of the jurymen of the former trial and then a trial of the jury of that trial and so on without end. No one would ever be hanged, but all except the lawyers would die of starvation. And it is just such a process that the art of criticism seems to entail. It seems to be necessarily a crying over spilt milk, a retrogression from reality in order to study a particular writer's efforts to arrive at reality.

Now this attack is actually effective against a type of criticism now going out of fashion, though not against all criticism. But before we explain the kind of criticism that escapes its brunt, we must be clear on the general meaning of the word critic as used in this paper. There are many kinds of critics—philosophical critics, sporting critics, gastronomical critics, political critics. We are only concerned with literary critics, though the following remarks may apply equally to music and art critics. Literature, the province of the literary critic, may be defined as any written work containing elements of emotion and imagery. It therefore includes poetry, a contemplative art, but it also includes works of science or reasoning written with imagination and sensibility. And between these two extremes are comprised novels, plays, essays, histories, written with feeling but also written to argue various theses. But it excludes reference books like railway guides, in which facts are stated with a callous bluntness, or merely scientific works like Hall and Knight's Algebra confined to reasoning and written by the author with the sole and selfish

*A paper read before a society of University Students.

purpose of compelling the reader to agree with him. Solicitude for the reader is a sign of literature. Again however the literary critic must be distinguished from the aesthetician, though both are students of literature and the same man is often both at once. But the aesthetician is, as such, interested in the general laws of literature and art and is thus a student of a branch of philosophy. The critic is interested in particular works and their effects upon their readers.

Every man has a talent for misunderstanding: but we have now, I think, made the meaning of criticism immune from misunderstanding by all except geniuses. A critic therefore is a judge of particular works of literature. But this definition is itself open to two legitimate meanings, and these two meanings respectively define the two kinds of critic already mentioned, the old-fashioned and the modern; for the word judge can mean either one who evaluates or one who simply appreciates. A judge who evaluates is one who gives a verdict and perhaps a sentence on the rightness or wrongness of an action. Judges in the law courts are of this kind, though each is usually covered by a jury, as a scapegoat to take the responsibility for the verdict that the judge exacts of them by dragooning and autosuggestion. But a judge who merely appreciates is one who simply judges or estimates what is there, what a thing is in itself. He analyses it, separating its elements from one another, the better to discern in dissection just what constitutes it. The sole purpose of his judgement is to reveal the inmost nature of the thing under examination, not to praise or commend it, still less to compare it with something else to the discredit of one or the other. Now critics are of one or the other of these orders. A hundred years ago the Macaulays and Giffords and Jeffreys of the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly* regarded a breach of literary convention as approximately a moral offence and themselves as commissioned for its detection and castigation. They actually inflicted on the writers whom they disliked the most terrible part of the punishment of real criminals, the shame of an invective from the bench and of public obloquy. Perhaps it was the growing sense in the Victorians of their obvious infallibility that suggested to them that they could afford to be indulgent to those who fell short of their standards; and perhaps it was the experience of English fallibility since the last war that showed later critics that they could not afford to indict the fallibility of others. Certain it is that the best critics of the present day regard it as their main business to interpret and expound the works they criticise, leaving it to their readers to form their opinions on the merits or demerits of those works and their rank in the hierarchy of literature. They do not praise, though they may spontaneously express their pleasure at beauty discovered; they do not blame, though they may note that the characteristics that give strength to one work are absent from another. But even such emotional comments are of secondary moment compared with the faithful communication

to the reader of the absolute qualities that they have uncovered in the work in the process of their eager but patient penetration of its content.

The best way to make clear to you the difference between these two approaches to criticism is to illustrate the actual exercise of each method by quoting a passage typical of it. The following passage from Jeffrey's review of Campbell's *British Poets* is typical in aim of the evaluating method, though not in every respect, of its author. It does not, for example, illustrate his snobbish flattery of dead writers who have been raised to the literary peerage, his encouraging pats on the head to the foremost amongst his contemporaries, his infuriated horse-whipping in the name of justice of those who have infringed his rules or principles. The root characteristic of this kind of critic is that he consciously erects his own tastes into a decalogue for all others. The only characteristic of the work that he thinks worth recording is its embodiment or exclusion of his own preferences. Now the following passage does at least illustrate this root characteristic, the critic as criterion :—

" If Scott, and Byron, and Campbell, have already cast Pope and Swift a good deal into the shade, in what form and dimensions are they themselves likely to be presented to the eyes of their great-grandchildren ? The thought, we own, is a little appalling ; and, we confess, we see nothing better to imagine than that they may find a comfortable place in some new collection of specimens—the centenary of the present publication. There shall posterity still hang with rapture on the half of Campbell, and the fourth part of Byron, and the sixth of Scott, and the scattered tithes of Crabbe, and the three per cent. of Southey."

You will notice what the fellow is about. He has appointed himself extern examiner to the English poets and is giving them marks. There is no mention of what they have written. Jeffrey's approval of them is presumably based on their conformity with his maxims in the conduct of their minds, and that approval is in his eyes the sole poet-maker. He is ever conscious of himself as the *Arbiter Elegantiarum*. And when to his pedagogical proclivity to lay down the law is added abuse, we have the full character of the hanging judge. He comes to bury Caesar, not to praise him. There is a family resemblance that extends beyond the name between Lord Jeffrey and Judge Jeffreys, and between the Bloody Assizes of the latter and the similar impertinences of the former. And it is altogether fitting to learn that Lord Jeffrey was not a peer of the realm but a Lord of the Court of Sessions. He was essentially a critic in wig and ermine whose motto was *Le bon goût, c'est moi*. His opinion was the moral law of letters, and literary merit was determined, not by an author's achievement, but by his efforts to conform to the law.

In contrast to this passage of Jeffrey's let us now consider one by Mr. George Bernard Shaw on Beethoven. It is musical, not literary,

criticism, but, since the same principles govern both, it will yet serve to illustrate the point. Here it is :—

" Now what Beethoven did, and what made some of his greatest contemporaries give him up as a madman with lucid intervals of clowning and bad taste, was that he used music altogether as a means of expressing moods, and completely threw over pattern-designing as an end in itself. It is true that he used the old patterns all his life with dogged conservatism (another Sansculotte characteristic by the way) ; but he imposed on them such an overwhelming charge of human energy and passion, including that highest passion that accompanies thought and reduces the passion of the physical appetites to mere animalism, that he not only played Old Harry with their symmetry but often made it impossible to notice that there was any pattern at all beneath the storm of emotion. The Eroica Symphony begins with a pattern (borrowed from an overture that Mozart wrote when he was a boy), followed by a couple more very pretty patterns ; but they are tremendously energised, and in the middle of the movement the patterns are torn up savagely ; and Beethoven, from the point of view of the mere pattern musician, goes raving mad, hurling out terrible chords in which all the notes of the scale are sounded simultaneously, just because he feels like that and wants you to feel like it."

Now this opinion is disputable. Bach's Chromatic Fantasy, for example, shows no addiction to pattern. But we are concerned, not with Shaw's accuracy of insight, but with his method of approach and his implied view of the critic's function. And to anyone who knows Shaw's character one point in the passage will seem astounding. Mr. Shaw is avowedly even more self-centred than most of his contemporaries. Doubtless he would reply that every man is naturally self-centred, and by being the most self-centred he thus proves himself the best man. We only note the fact of his self-centredness, ignoring the problem of its morality. Now in the passage quoted no single word is in the first person singular ; there is hardly one indeed in the whole essay. This then is Beethoven's most startling achievement, that his music has induced George Bernard Shaw to write a whole paragraph about it without even once mentioning George Bernard Shaw. Furthermore, in this paragraph Shaw has all but forgotten any other musicians besides Beethoven ; for instance in applying adjectives to him he avoids degrees of comparison. His whole thought is filled with the music of Beethoven and nothing else. For the moment his only purpose in life is to solve the mystery of Beethoven's power, and for that purpose he pores without prejudice on his music to force it to declare its innermost secrets. Instead of examining it with the censorious eye of a schoolmaster, therefore, he examines it with the expectant eye of a student and an inferior. True, he does not wholly eschew evaluation, but his applause is wrung from him involuntarily

by what he sees; the sight of Beethoven running amuck and smashing things in a fit of ungovernable bad temper extorts from Mr. Shaw a faint but enthusiastic "Attaboy!" For Shaw the critic the one thing necessary was to explore the content of the submitted work in search of its essential character and faithfully to communicate his findings to his readers.

But to make the contrast still clearer let us consider how the evaluating critic and the appreciative critic would respectively review the *same* passage. Here we shall have to do our best to imagine their manners of treatment. Let us take a passage from St. Teresa's *Interior Castle*. But lest anyone should think that the opinion of either of these two imaginary bandits of journalism is mine, let me say at once that St. Teresa was one of the dozen or so human beings who have had a permanent influence for good on the world's history. Her achievement was, more than anyone else, to bring to maturity the Spanish mind, which is at this moment probably the main hope of Europe, though that hope is not certain to be fulfilled. Here then is the passage:—

"I thought of the soul as resembling a castle, formed of a single diamond or a very transparent crystal, and containing many rooms, just as in heaven there are many mansions. If we reflect, sisters, we shall see that the soul of the just man is but a paradise."

Now an evaluating critic in the *Avila Review* might write of this somewhat as follows: "We have said before and we say again that women are constitutionally unfitted for literary work. Such is the instability of the female mind that a woman who has forsaken the broom for the pen rarely begins a sentence to express one idea without trying to express a different one before its close. The above passage is an egregious example of this distressing inconstancy. It offends all the proprieties of art by the incongruity of its imagery and its complete lack of meaning. To think of the soul as resembling a castle is itself so far-fetched a comparison that it can only be possible to one who does not really think of the soul at all. But forthwith the writer's thought wanders to those personal adornments that even in convents still seem to attract the feminine heart, and she calls her soul a diamond to have the illusion of still wearing the forbidden trinket. Then into this trinket, which she wears inside her and yet inside which she is dwelling as in her castle, she puts a number of rooms. But she remembers suddenly that it is her office to be religious; so she compares the rooms to the heavenly mansions, thus turning a castle into a trinket and then into a number of large dwelling houses in a single sentence. As if her Circean sport had not gone far enough, she next turns it into a paradise or garden. The whole passage is only not heterodox because it contradicts each false statement by a still more extravagant one and ends by meaning nothing at all. The pious lady who wrote it has become, with much trouble to herself and others,

Superioress of many convents in Spain. We abstain from expressing our opinion of the prudence of putting so much power into a woman's hands, but her possession of it is no excuse for thinking that, because she has authority, she is therefore an author. And the result of her mistake is the above passage, which we have no hesitation in describing as the very worst piece of prose ever written since the death of the Prophet Ezechiel."

Now let us take the appreciative critic's review from the pages, say, of *Mendoza's Magazine*; it might be something like this: "The key to the significance of this original and strangely affecting passage is undoubtedly that its method is that of the most daring Surrealism. Mother Teresa is giving her imagination its head in one of those day-dreams to which prayer is often an introduction. The dream, of course, is uncontrolled by reason, and so its logic must be sought in some deep yearning of the psyche. With a magnificent sweep of vision she finds that in place of her soul she is thinking of a castle that is somehow related to the Garden of Paradise by the intermediate link of a diamond or crystal. What function precisely the diamond fulfills in establishing the relation is Mother Teresa's secret, if it is even hers; but the evocative power of the imagery is evident in the excitement of being swung violently from one to the other of such apparently irrelevant objects. Doubtless the strangeness of the vision would have been even more arresting if she had introduced into it some of the queer creatures that are to be seen in other lands, such as a camel or two or Queen Elizabeth of England. But, even as it is, no one can read it without experiencing a storm of conflicting and ineffable emotions, welling up from equally ineffable spiritual depths, such as often assails the mind when half asleep—as Mother Teresa seems to have been when she wrote these words. In short, obscure as the sense of the passage is (if it has any) there is no doubting the sincerity of the writer. What we mean is that, whatever she meant, she certainly meant it."

Once more you will note that the evaluating critic is considering the operations of the writer's mind to find out if it is obeying the rules that he has appointed to be the eternal laws of literature. But the appreciative critic, unconcerned with the author's mind, is solely concerned with his work and the explanation, in the work's nature, of its effect upon the reader. At least he is not censoring the author's mind, though he must imply it and its experience in understanding the work that embodies it. It is their methods that interest us, not their failures, despite or because of their methods, to understand St. Teresa.

Now I had just written these words when, by a happy coincidence, I chanced to read the following sentences, quoted with approval by that admirable critic, Mr. Desmond MacCarthy, from Mr. C. S. Lewis: "The first qualification for judging any piece of workmanship from a corkscrew to a cathedral is to know *what* it is—what it is intended to do

and how it is to be used . . . The first thing the reader needs to know about *Paradise Lost* is what Milton intended it to be." "Put yourself in his place" adds Mr. MacCarthy. You can see for yourself how much better these words express my own idea than any that I have been able to find. They are, at any rate, the whole practical doctrine of the modern critic.

By this time it should also be clear how the appreciative critic escapes the charge levelled at criticism in general at the beginning of this paper. The evaluating critic is, as such, essentially a censor of mental behaviour, concerned therefore with the right or wrong employment of his faculties by the author under examination, not with truth in itself. (You will have noticed in the illustrations that what matters to him is less what is expressed than the means of expression). But the appreciative critic, the interpreter, the expositor, concentrates on seeing the truth expressed by his author, though on seeing it *through* that author's mind. In other words he concentrates on the interpretation of the total experience that the author wishes to communicate. He aims at helping the author's readers to see as the author saw and with the same escort of emotions. His work is not an original vision, but it is the author's vision renewed in the critic's mind, there amplified by exposition, elucidated by isolation of its component elements, and expressed so instructively that the reader begins to feel the author's experience as vividly as if it were his own. This critic therefore is using the author's experience as a view of truth from a certain angle. The critic himself then becomes to his reader something like a field-glass by which reality, from that point of view, may be the more clearly discerned. This critic, therefore, is primarily bent upon the revelation of truth by lending his mind to help that of the original writer in the latter's own task of revelation. Remember the image of the field-glass. The vision of this critic and its expression is the vision of the author under consideration magnified many times.

The main task of the critic of poetry, therefore, will be to analyse the emotional reaction to the poem, or the poetry of his author in general, and trace its elements to their sources in the various aspects of the situation that the poet is contemplating. It is no easy task. The emotional reaction is often a blend of opposite feelings—of laughter, and tears, and exultation, and dismay. And when it has been analysed, its parts may be found to originate not in the immediate object of vision but in what it suggests. A single line of Milton is very often by itself alone a forbidding challenge to the critic to undertake the arduous exploration of its beauty.

"Lancelot or Pelleas or Pellenore."

Whence comes the strange nostalgia excited by this line, the longing for a lost Eden and a shattered innocence? It contains nothing but the names of three warriors and should recall an age of strife that no man can regret. Yes, but they are the names of men who fought for an ideal and followed

a code. The men themselves are imitated by the words, deliberately disciplined into a pattern by juxtaposition of likeness and variation. The line invokes order and comeliness as the conditions of combat. Milton has suggested here the essence of chivalry, which is willingness to make a nuisance of oneself in a good cause, its union of grace with manliness—in a word, Christian civilisation as perfectly exhibited in the few who have made nuisances of themselves for the kingdom of heaven and have been killed for it. He has called up a whole world, more vital and turbulent than our own, but reduced to order by the devotion of all its parts to a single end, by that firm faith in reason and reason in faith that made the Dark Ages more enlightened than the German Enlightenment and more reasonable than the French Age of Reason. He has indicated in one line, if we pursue its associations, that sane order of country labour called feudalism, that urban order of industry called vocationalism, the educational order founded on philosophy, and the political order founded on Papal suzerainty. He wrought better than he knew. Hence our nostalgia ; for could anything be further from the chaos and bewilderment of our modern world than Christian civilisation and the spirit of the martyrs ?

But the amplification of an author's vision should entail no addition to it, whereas it may entail simplification. Especially in criticising history or works written to expound a thesis, it is necessary to omit details and lay bare the central design of events or arguments. A practised intelligence is required to be able to recapitulate in a few sentences the gist of a whole book. Further practice is needed to express this gist invested with the feeling of the original author. Yet both are necessary, for true criticism is the microcosm of a book in which its essentials are plucked from the non-essential ; and feeling is an essential of literature. And if anyone should ask me how a microcosm can be a magnification, I can only reply that both are images for the clarification of the author's vision.

Yet I do not suggest that the critic's function is confined to the elucidation of an author's mind. His function is to help the author to communicate his vision to the public. But often he will find that the author has remissly considered and imperfectly reacted to certain aspects of his theme. An evaluating critic would hereupon censure the author, dismiss him, and proceed to describe the poem that he himself would have written or to give his own version (at least allegedly his own) of the principles or events considered in the book under review. An appreciative critic who subordinates himself to his author will never dismiss him or censure him, for he will not review works that only deserve censure since their content is not worth the trouble of interpreting. But his function of helper will not impel him to excuse and deny the author's lapses but rather to correct them. Thus he will even play a creative rôle in the work under review, subsidiary to that of the author himself, but necessary that

the truth contemplated by the author may, through the critic's work, achieve the full effect of which it is capable. The right kind of critic will seldom refer to an author's faults in order to injure his reputation, but rather in order to reveal the virtues that those faults conceal. Contemptuous of debunking, he will know that iconoclasm is no cure for heresy. And therefore the most conspicuous signs of good criticism are probably two: the power shown by the critic to illustrate by quotation the true strength of the author he is criticising, and his power to make his readers more or less eagerly want to read that author.

But in order to exercise this function the critic must have, by nature or self-discipline, a qualification staggering in its exactions. Longfellow has somewhere said that the man fit to criticise a work of literature must have mental capacity equal to that of the writer. His principle perhaps makes no exorbitant demands on the critic of Longfellow, but it would disqualify any living man from criticising Virgil or Dante. However, Longfellow's statement is somewhat exaggerated. The vital element of truth in it is exactly implied in Mr. Desmond MacCarthy's practical rule: "Put yourself in his place." Imagine yourself Homer; think yourself into Swift's skin; be Shakespeare! For criticism's first condition is to see and feel with the consciousness of the author criticised. It is imaginatively to be the author in the process of composition and then to return to one's own person and describe the adventure to the world. It is above all the power to perceive with the writer's consciousness as modified by the queer twists and incongruities of his unique personality. Such a power does not, as Longfellow implies, require the same kind of mentality as the original writer's; it does not, for instance, *originate* its experience. But it requires a power receptive of impressions that is more than histrionic, for it does not merely mimic the experience of the writer but actually reproduces that very experience itself in the mind of the critic. If we add to this that the critic must as constantly change his imaginary personality as he changes the authors whom he criticises, we must envisage his career as a series of possessions or obsessions by each of the spirits of literature in turn. By profession he is an energumen of the classics.

And so Longfellow's epigram is true in this sense that thus to be able to receive a great soul even for a moment into one's own requires in the recipient a greatness of his own. To have in imagination the very experience of Coleridge expressed in *Kubla Khan* one must know what it is like to have a soul steeped in Marco Polo and Hakluyt and Purchas, to see Xanadu distinctly through the windows of one's room and more dimly the whole world and all the ages through Xanadu, and perhaps to realise something of the sensation of being under opium. It is to have a measure of the learning and imagination of Coleridge himself and a power of

reception equal to his creative power. Only a man with something of Coleridge's greatness can ever *be* Coleridge even in thought.

Hence the unenlightening character of the comments on literature of younger critics who lack experience and older critics who lack this power of insight or rather throughsight, of schoolboy medallists in English literature, and dilettanti in drawingrooms, and most of those who bring out annotated editions of the English classics for the guidance of beginners, the blind leading the blind. All such regard the work they are criticising as something outside and independent of themselves, not something that they must appropriate as their own by imaginative identification with the author. Hence they will fix upon the superficial and unimportant for record. They will get a whiff of emotion from the work such as they would get from any actual external sight that chanced to meet their eyes and was beyond their control. But it will not be the strong and idiosyncratic emotion that arises from the penetration of another mind. It will be a vague feeling that will entitle them to call the work beautiful, or fine, or powerful, or moving, or just pleasing, but never to define its individual idiom. Their comment might run like this :—

" The boy stood on the burning deck
Whence all but he had fled.

There is great pathos in the boy's situation. Notice too the selfishness of his elders who have run away as soon as the fire got dangerous." Perhaps there is not much more to be said about this particular poem except to admire the prudence of the elders ; but it is safe to say that a critic who would be content to call any poem pathetic and leave it at that would find *Hamlet* just as poor in suggestion. Thus, having indefinitely described the character of the poem, they will seize upon its metaphors and similes to discuss ; for anyone can note the similarity or dissimilarity of a metaphor and its object by imagining the two side by side. And what an opportunity for the critic of manifesting his intellectual superiority by showing up the inadequacy of his author's imagery—of the moon, for example, as a symbol of the mutability of the human mind ! After all the moon is a much overrated performer. Its reputation for inconstancy depends on a very limited repertoire of changes and a versatility without originality or caprice. Really it is just as monotonous a being as a man who goes every day to his office. After that there really seems nothing more to talk about except the style and word-music and the metrical technique. Then, satisfied that he has made an exhaustive inventory of the poem's qualities, the so-called critic will send it up with a request for applause. Yet what has he told us ? That the poem is pathetic, contains an apt or inept image or two, is written smoothly in ballad metre. But who could ever reconstruct the poem in imagination from such clues or discover in it any hidden significance ? He has omitted the one thing necessary, the peculiar, vital *personality* of the poem, unique even amongst those of its author,

since it embodies a unique experience of the author's. Only by reliving that experience in imagination can its native tang and individuality be recovered and communicated. And this he has neglected to do by keeping the poem outside of himself in thought. It is worth noting that the criticism of one of the greatest of living poets, Miss Edith Sitwell, is unconvincing just because she confines criticism on principle to an examination of verbal technique. It may be that original poets find peculiar difficulty in criticism, for they are least of all able to repress their own spontaneous reactions and to don an alien experience. That is possibly why Francis Thompson read himself into Shelley and Miss Sitwell reads no one at all in the works she criticises. But truth lies at the bottom of the well; only advertisement hoardings are obvious. There is a glaring inconsistency between the torment and folly of the world and the wisdom of its Maker, but it is glaring only because it is superficial, not because it is true. And so the true worth of a work of literature is found not by pecking at its surface but by penetration of its inmost nature, of what it is.

One other corollary remains to be drawn: that the good critic must be a good man, in principle if not in practice, for he must be capable of feeling as his own all that is best in the spiritual experience of man. This conclusion needs no elaboration, for it follows closely and logically on our thesis.

Now I hope that I have convinced you that the critic is not a mere parasite of literature nor necessarily an usurper of authority. And to-day his office is more honourable than ever. In this hour, when ignorance is leaving men unprotected against the seductions of materialism, he is the guardian of art, the outermost defences of our spiritual values. He must defend it against the Philistines from without who see in art only a pastime for the idle, and against the precious and muddle-headed amateurs from within who call it a religion to excuse their practice of it as a pastime. In maintaining against both the nature and dignity of art and upholding its cause he is, willy-nilly, upholding something that pertains to the cause of God. But he will not effectively serve art by policing the mental operations of artists (for they must be free), but only by a devoted love of the same truth as they have discovered and by a desire for its propagation.

ARTHUR LITTLE

RIPA REVISITED

BY C. P. CURRAN, M.A.

HIDDEN hands belong to fiction; they pull the strings of history more rarely. Yet Emerson said that every public reform was once a private opinion and M. Emile Mâle—more relevantly to the matter in hand—says that behind every development in the arts there lies a book. The *Psychomachia* of Prudentius lay behind a great deal of Romanesque representation, the *Speculum Majus* of Vincent de Beauvais mirrored in advance the serene art of the thirteenth century, and the pseudo-St. Bonaventure's *Meditations on the Life of Christ* fed the more emotional art of the fourteenth. Passing to a later date, Mâle was the first to demonstrate how deeply the *Iconologia* of Cesare Ripa is embedded in the allegorical art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His investigations into the working of this hidden hand are confined to Italy and France. In tracing Ripa's influence a little farther into the Ireland of the eighteenth century, I had on an earlier occasion[1] to recount Mâle's experience from the time when a copy of the *Iconologia*, encountered in the library of the Collegio Romano, threw a flood of light upon personifications and obscure allegories which had bored and baffled him in the study of seventeenth century Roman churches. It illuminated the work of Bernini and Domenichino, and he followed its gleam through Sebastian Bourdon, Vouet, Mignard and Le Sueur and through Le Brun's organisation of the Versailles decoration to the dome of the Institut itself. If, in returning to this subject of Ripa's influence in the arts of these islands, I now at times repeat myself it is for the sake of clarity and *pour mieux sauter*.

All iconography is, I suppose, a mixture of tradition and accretion. On its allegorical side, in its shadowy world of symbols and emblems, the traditional element is most constant and in origin very remote. Such traditional imagery persisted into the Renaissance period and indeed to our own day. But in the sixteenth century two new things happened. Already dazzled by the revelation of the classical world, the eyes of scholars and artists were suddenly directed to Egypt. The Aldine edition of Horus Apollo's *Hieroglyphica*, which appeared in 1505, was a deceptive dawn setting enquiring minds at wonder whether another source of wisdom older than Greece was not hidden in hieroglyphs. Pierio Valeriano, friend of two Medicean Popes, using it in a *Hieroglyphica* of his own, was confident that the widsom sought by Pythagoras and Plato could

1 "Cesare Ripa and the Dublin Stuccodores," STUDIES, June 1939.

be found in their interpretation. A new literature of emblems was born, of which the *Emblemata* (Milan 1522) of the learned jurist Andrea Alciati is the type. Such books guided Raphael's brush, helped to raise the fallen obelisks which Sixtus V re-established in the Roman piazzas and, through Whitney's adaptation, coloured Shakespeare.

This new vogue of the emblem-book was one influence which modified the old iconography. The second was the reforming spirit of the Council of Trent which set itself to lop and prune away from artistic representation all the undergrowth and accretions of folk superstition or classic paganism which obscured the Christian vision. Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* came from these two impulses, and both its moral and practical purpose was in line with this reform. Its first edition appeared in Rome in 1593. Editions from 1602 were illustrated, and at least ten enlarged editions were published up to 1669 in Milan, Florence, Siena, Padua and Venice, with an edition in five volumes in 1764 in his native town of Perugia. An abbreviated French translation by Baudoin[1] was published in Paris in 1636 and 1644, and in the latter year a Dutch translation by Dirck Pers appeared in Amsterdam. Flemish and French versions and imitations continued into the eighteenth century, including Petity's *Manuel des Artistes* (Paris 1770). Petity's work gives a useful descriptive bibliography of these *auteurs hiérographes* and other technical writers on art. He mentions the work of three Jesuits: Gulielmus Herius of Antwerp, 1632; the *Perspectiva* of Andrea Puteo, Rome 1693, and the numerous illustrated works of Père Ménestrier—*e.g. L'Art des Emblèmes* and *La Science et l'Art des Devises*, Paris 1684-1686. Parallel with these were English versions by Tempest in 1709 and by Richardson in 1779.

What is the nature of this book which had such a steady vogue and has since fallen into oblivion? Though it has a sort of collateral ancestry with Alciati's *Emblemata* and is often catalogued with the emblem-books, it is in no sense an imitation. It has a different form and a clearer direction and purpose than any of these. The emblem-books, of which Whitney's *Choice of Emblems* (1586) is the early English example, derive straight from Alciati and his imitators. Nine-tenths of Whitney is borrowed. These emblem-books constitute a particularly maddening form of literature. Described by Bacon as reducing "conceits intellectual to images sensible," they are moralized picture-puzzle books of the virtues and vices wherein, "by the office of the eie and eare, the minde may reape dooble-delight through holsome preceptes, shadowed with pleasant devises." A motto and an obscure allegorical wood-cut top the page, and verses point the moral. Their wild savour is in the picture-puzzle. Some of the early designs, like the *Amorum Emblemata* of Otto Venius (published

[1]Baudoin was reader to Marguerite of Navarre and a diligent bookmaker. He was sent by Marie de Medicis to England to translate Sidney's *Arcadia* and was a foundation member of the French Academy. He died in 1650.

in 1608 with verses in Latin, Italian, French and Spanish), or those of Crispin de Pas have artistic merit. Most often they are just Torquemada cross-cuts. Their invention seems to have been something of a parlour game played in schools and in the best houses, useful for language-learning and heraldry. The whole form of motto, emblem and verse is reproduced in the Casket scene in the *Merchant of Venice*, and indeed the College of Arms still plays the game with punning motto and emblem. Their elaboration of conceits belongs to the Della Cruscan age and to our mind is, as I have said, merely maddening. But perhaps I should rather say surrealist, for who between Alciati and Salvador Dali would represent Gluttony as a mouse on a sea-shore with its head held fast by an oyster.

But the high, unmatchable spirit of Cesare Ripa lives above such trivialities and works in a temper loftier and more practical. He has the ranging mind of the Renaissance scholar, the taste of a Christian gentleman and the serious purpose of a Tridentine reformer. His iconology is not a random choice of riddling pictures and dainty devices to fit any one's fancy. It was comprehensively designed to be a complete pictorial repertory of personifications, grounded in Christian principle and consonant with the practice of all antiquity. It was intended to be and was in fact for two hundred years a working manual or reference book for all artists. His four hundred images are, he says, " drawn from antiquity and from his own invention and provide examples useful and necessary to Poets, Painters, Sculptors and others in the representation of virtues, vices and all human passions and inclinations." This suggests the purpose, but not the method and charm of his work.

Claiming little originality—though he has it in plan and design—Ripa delights in authority and precedent. He pillages Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquity, the Bible, the Fathers of the Church to Albertus Magnus and Aquinas, the poets of his own country, to establish, to combine and, where necessary, to create his didactic series of pictorial allegories. He deals with theology, physics and metaphysics. He reduces to images sensible—sometimes one must admit not so sensible—the elements and equinoxes, the seasons and months, the continents and rivers, the gifts and fruits of the Holy Ghost, the virtues, vices and inclinations of men, Catholic dogma, the liberal arts and sciences, the manual occupations. He shows his ingenuity in dealing with subjects like Free Will and Predestination or in distinguishing Intellect, Intelligence and Cognition. He carries on the medieval spirit in his use of animals or in showing Logic with rapier and keys, Scientia with the triangle which typifies the three terms of a syllogism, Metaphysics spurning a clock and the globe, Philosophy ragged as a poor scholar in contrast with profitable Medicine and Law—in this following Petrarch : " *Povera e nuda vai Filosofia.*"

These illustrations are conveniently arranged in dictionary form. I

take this list at random from the 1603 Roman edition: Carita, Castita, Clemenza, Comedia, Comedia Vecchia, Compuntione, Concordia, Confidenza, Confessione, Coscienza, Constanza, Cortesia, and so on. Alternatives are given, and each detail is not merely described but explained and justified by quotations from authority in verse or prose. In this way, the book in its full form is also a sort of anthology in which figure *e.g.*—Pausanias, Pliny, Ovid, Virgil, Macrobius, Festus Pompeius, Solinus, Isidore of Seville, Albertus Magnus, Petrarch and Boccaccio. Medieval and Renaissance curiosity is blended, and the book proceeds with a certain grave and stiffly enveloping charm. In the later, foreign versions these quotations and glosses are largely omitted; the book is reduced to a mere tool and the designs themselves, impoverished to an academic taste, are gradually altered and lose their original charm.

The *Iconologia* had an instant popularity. In an age of great spectacles, pageant-masters and masters of ceremonies fell upon it for their pomps and festas; it affected all the *seicento* arts and, passing over into France, its influence persisted to the end of the eighteenth century. Mâle has told this story, but Ripa travelled beyond the wide limits Mâle set to his inquiry. It would be easy, for example, to follow his traces through the baroque sculpture of Austria and South Germany or indeed anywhere in Europe where the dominant allegorical taste affected mural or monumental decoration. The terms of the plastic arts are precise and sensible. But in literature it is not so easy to follow him, except at the moment when masques and court entertainments occupied the attention of writers. In English Jacobean literature his influence is mixed with the emblem-books which derive as much from Alciati and Ripa's Low Country imitators as from himself. It seems, however, certain that Peacham's *Minerva Britanna or Garden of Heroical Devices* (1612) is immediately indebted to Ripa. His Fame (or Rumour), a winged woman sounding a trumpet and with skirt kirtled for speed and painted over with eyes and ears; his Inconstancy, with sea-green gown, holding a crescent moon and resting her fickle feet on a crab; his Truth, undraped like Bernini's, holding a radiant sun, book and palm and treading a sphere—all these and others are direct transcripts from Ripa. But the debt of the Jacobeans to Ripa is not a matter of conjecture. It is formally acknowledged by Ben Jonson their greatest man of letters, the most catholic in his scholarship, the least insular, the most European. The masque, which engaged so much of his later activity, was then exercising all over Europe the prodigious invention of the Renaissance artists, their sense of beauty and the quick discernment of spectators already habituated to allegory. The Italianate Inigo Jones was Bakst to Ben Jonson's Diaghileff.

Jonson's own annotations to his masques show the same attitude to

allegorical imagery as Ripa's.[1] Symbols are not to be merely hieroglyphs or emblems, but ought to be " apted to these more magnificent inventions wherein the garments and ensigns deliver the nature of the persons." These " high and hearty inventions " should be " grounded on antiquity and solid learning, whose sense should always lay hold on more removed mystery." He prescribes, for Master Inigo Jones, " properties and ensigns out of the authority of ancient and late writers." The ancient writers he mentions are most commonly those cited by Ripa, but that Ripa is his chief source appears from the fact that he is the only iconologist he mentions by name in his stage directions. He mentions his *Iconologia* four times : in the *Masque of Beauty* (1608) for Januarius and Harmonia, in the *Masque of Hymen* and *The Barriers* for Opinion, and for Fama Bona in the *Masque of Queens*. Those acknowledged are by no means his only borrowings. Ripa seems to determine most of the figures in his *Coronation Entertainment*—Peace, Quiet, Liberty, and so on. Many of their attributes were and still are common form, but one may instance one or two out-moded symbols. Jonson gives Eleutheria or Liberty a cap and club, " and at her feet a cat was placed, the creature most affecting and expressing liberty." Turning to Ripa we find mentioned the cap, the club or alternately a trefoiled sceptre— " è in terra vi se sede un guatto . . . chi ama molto la liberta." For Temperance in *The Masque of Beauty* Jonson indicates : " for one hand a burning steel, in the other an urn with water " ; and Ripa : " nella destro mano una tenaglia con uno ferro infocato e nella sinistra quel ferro ardente." A figure pouring water into wine is another Ripa image for Temperance adopted from medieval practice. In the same masque Perfection has Ripa's ensigns and so with Juno, Truth and Fama Bona in the *Masque of Hymen*. Ripa distinguishes this Fama Bona from mere Fame (or Rumour) the nimble female borrowed by Peacham, winged, feathered and with robe cut short to allow her to run swiftly, painted with eyes, ears and mouths. Is it to this image that Bacon refers in his unfinished and posthumously published essay on Fame, " whom the poets describe . . . gravely and sententiously—so many Tongues, so many Voyces ; she pricks up so many Ears."

Ben Jonson is only one of the many contrivers of masques who, for forty years, out of music and words, colour, light and daring stage-sets wove a web of complicated beauty before Puritanism obliterated the arts in England. Almost all of them—certainly Daniel, Campion, Chapman, Carew, Townsend and Davenant—are in evident debt to Ripa, as Professor Allerdyce Nicoll has convincingly shown. Most of all, the brilliant Inigo Jones. This is not to derogate from genius but rather to show that Ripa's book was well aimed. His designs are their raw material, as one may

[1] Since writing this passage I find the subject of Ben Jonson and the Hieroglyphs fully dealt with by Don Cameron Allen in an article in the *Philological Quarterly* (Iowa Univ.) June 1939. I refer to this and to Professor Allerdyce Nicoll's admirable and admirably illustrated *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance.*

well see by a comparison of Inigo Jones's Chatsworth drawings with Ripa's woodcuts. The factual content is the same; Ripa's woodcuts have a didactic gravity, a certain sober charm, but Inigo Jones's figures dance across his page, fantastic and spirited, the glittering ephemerides of his short season's masquerade.

This fashion of allegory was invaluable in the baroque age and so long as the décor of the masque was the meeting-place of poet and architect. It was inevitable that it would not long hold the poets. The winged Pegasus commonly needs no such harness or at any rate the poets could make their own choice from the harness-room of the classics. Painters and sculptors were in different case, and the contrivers of history pieces and decorations who in ever increasing numbers were spreading their art over the ceilings and walls of Europe. These more than the poets were the men Ripa had in mind. His *Iconologia*, in its different versions, remained their convenient book of reference. They found in it What Every Artist Should Know.

That it was such a vade-mecum appears from the testimony of the artists themselves. Mignard had a copy in his library in the eighteenth century, and another was found in Houdon's at the beginning of the nineteenth. Gerard de Lairesse (1640-1710), the Flemish painter who represented the classical school in Amsterdam in Rembrandt's day, kept it by him. Son of an erudite painter, Lairesse enjoyed a successful practice and conducted as well an art school where he expounded, in public lectures, principles in art which he also embodied in books. His *Art of Painting* was translated into English in 1778 by the painter John Frederick Fritsch. Lairesse, whom his translator describes as a master of "classic, emblematic, historical and descriptionary learning," here places Ripa second amongst the works a true artist ought not to be without (p. 400). In an earlier autobiographic page Lairesse says that from his youth he was devoted to emblems—he even stencilled designs on his clothes. This gusto, fostered by his parent's instruction, being carried too far was then discouraged, "but when my eldest brother brought me out of Italy Cesar Ripa's book aforesaid (which hitherto we were strangers to, or else was locked up as a secret), then my flame for emblematic learning broke out again. By the help of this book I produced many and strange designs, accounted as prodigies. My proficiency was such that it yielded me an annual profit, because the Jesuits' scholars yearly bespoke of me the embellishing of above one hundred and fifty of their positions or theses with emblems, histories or fables in watercolour."

Lairesse's work is in many galleries, but none of it that I have seen shows Ripa influence anything like as clearly as the sole allegorical picture painted by his contemporary Vermeer. Drawing attention to the relation of this Allegory of Faith to Faith described in the Dutch translation of Ripa, Mr. Wilenski surprisingly adds: "It is impossible to discover,

from internal evidence, what the allegory of Faith is about." But Dr. Bode finds no obscurity, but rather a sensitive, sober method, *herzlich nüchterne Weise*. Actually all the ensigns here—the lady clad in white, the right hand on her breast, the chalice and crucifix, the open book towards which she is turned, the square base on which she is seated—all these are Ripa's prescribed insignia for Fede Cristiana or Fede Cattolica, the rest—the crushed serpent under the stone, the apple, and the picture of the Crucifixion in the background—are associations with sin and redemption. Why the name of this picture, lent by Dr. Bredius to the Ryksmuseum and now the property of the New York Metropolitan, should have been changed to *Allegory of the New Testament*, I do not know. In our Dublin National Gallery the meaning of another such fine picture is similarly obscured by misdescription. The Triumph or Adoration of the Eucharist is the subject there of a master-work of Jordaens and it is so named by Oldenbourg in his *Vlämische Malerei*. But in our catalogues it is called first Theology and later A Theological Allegory. Sir Walter Armstrong further darkened knowledge by adding to his predecessors' description a sentence to the effect that " the inspiration of the picture is not that of an orthodox Catholic." Actually, whatever Jordaens' beliefs may have been when he painted this picture, its inspiration is Christian and Catholic and the iconology Riparian. This misdescription still remains, but I would not have diverted to this matter if the entry were not otherwise at fault. The accompanying saints are named SS. Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory. In fact the kneeling saint at the right is St. Thomas Aquinas. In this subject he is frequently associated with these saints, and he is here by right of his devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and his authorship of the Office of Corpus Christi.

Continuing in the seventeenth century, Dufresnoy wrote a celebrated *De Arte Graphica* which Dryden turned into English with a well-known essay. Ripa's *Iconologia* again is amongst the books here recommended " as of most advantage to those of the Profession." In the English edition the work is referred to simply as the *Iconology*, as if too well known to require the author's name, but in the French edition of 1673 Ripa's name is duly attached. In 1779 George Richardson, the English architect and decorator, published an Iconology which is simply a translation of Baudoin's Ripa. He salutes " the indefatigable study of the celebrated Cavaliere Ripa " and commends " his useful and entertaining work ". " It has generally been regarded " he says " as a good model at home and abroad (having been translated into no less than seven different languages)," and he adds the significant words : " The well-instructed artist knows what succour is to be derived from Ripa's Iconology." Many artists practising in Ireland and England appear in the list of Richardson's subscribers, with two Dublin booksellers and several Irish noblemen.

Amongst the architects and plasterers are the Adams, Chambers, Clarke, Cooley, Gandon, Owens, Penrose, Robbins, the two Roses and Wyatt; amongst the sculptors: Nollekens and Edward Smyth—if indeed, as I may only rashly hazard, the name Mr. Smith, Dublin, covers the latter identity; and amongst the painters: Bartolozzi, Reynolds, Romney, Paul Sandby and Zucchi.

I have little doubt that a quest after Ripa prosecuted amongst English monumental sculpture would yield even more traces of the succour to which Richardson refers than amongst the painters, but in painting I may refer to two examples. Sir James Thornhill, Hogarth's father-in-law, was devoted to allegorical painting. In the gutted hall of Stoke Edith, Hereford, there was a decorative scheme from his hand which included a female figure holding a trefoiled sceptre and a cap with a cat at her feet. I have not seen it named, but it is obviously Ripa's Liberty already used by Ben Jonson. Reynolds similarly follows Ripa in his designs of the theological and cardinal virtues for the Oxford windows. They have been written of as "thoroughly and unmistakably English in character. No straining after classicism, no copying or imitation of the Italians . . . In the conception or the execution . . . nowhere is a trace discernible of any foreign element." (*Burlington Magazine*, Max Roldit, July 1903); but they all bear Ripa trade-marks. It is true that the figures are contemporary portraits. The writer suggests that Fortitude (Lady Dudley) is the traditional figure of Britannia with helmet and lion. He does not mention her column. But turning to Ripa (art, Fortezza) we find helmet, lion and column: "Donna armata e vestita di color lionato . . . s'appoggia questa donna ad una colonna; ai piedi vi giacera un lione." And this is how Reynolds exhibits her. Similarly he shows Temperance in her traditional and Ripa form pouring water into wine, a temperate and now obsolescent hydration. He follows with Prudence with mirror and serpent-wreathed arrow, typifying reflection and the prudence which moderates speed; and so with the other figures.

Notwithstanding this academical borrowing, the shades are beginning to close in upon Ripa. Masques and pageants, triumphs and king's entertainments are folded up with the miracle plays; the apotheoses and allegories which once spread themselves over cupolas and banqueting halls are shrunk to a medal's space. In France the painters grow flighty. "Mon garçon," said Boucher to Fragonard setting out for Rome, "on te fera admirer là-bas Michel Ange et Raphael. Si tu as le malheur de prendre ces gens-là au serieux, tu es perdu." In London the dome of St. Paul's is forbidden to the Academy for fear of Romanism, and voices are raised against Ripa, their mentor, even in the academies, in the house of his friends. Abroad Winckelmann sounds the note of neo-Hellenism. In his *Essay on Allegory* (Dresden 1766) he expounds a new iconography—"useful to men of letters and necessary to artists". There is something

unpleasing in the satisfaction with which he views his own industry, but his evangel was eminently successful and ushered in the new classical ice-age. Of Ripa, he says that he knew nothing of monuments and that his images " can serve at most for illuminations, and there are very few proper to enter into pictorial composition. He proposes several ideas which in execution could only be ridiculous." Back in England Sir Joshua is reading Ripa, and using Ripa in his Oxford windows, but in his *Discourses* he breathes not his name. Perhaps he had him at the back of his mind when he urges the student to bring home knowledge from the East and the West and make the whole world tributary towards furnishing his mind and enriching his work with variety of invention. But the language of two of his brother academicians leave no doubt as to what *they* thought of Ripa's variety of invention. It is true that both of them—Barry and Fuseli—were, unlike Reynolds, fiery and inventive, and Fuseli was one of Winckelmann's translators. Both of them let their tongues rage like flames amongst the noblest names and left neither Raphael, Rubens nor Ripa unscathed.

Our countryman Barry says: " Allusions confined to a limited number of persons, places and times, soon perish . . . What must be said then of the absurd collections of Otto Venius, Ripa and others who have been in the pains of raking together all the offal of the imagination. However, such books may have their use and serve as a kind of bathos, replete with low beggarly allusion and false wit " . . . And Fuseli: " Among the paltry subterfuges contrived by dulness to palliate the want of invention the laborious pedantry of emblems ranks foremost. How can anyone not acquainted with Cesare Ripa or some other emblem coiner understand the symbols of Justice, Temperance, Fortitude and Charity.[1]

Borne down in this spate of growing individualism, Ripa recedes. His indignant spirit, sheltering in another sphere beneath the shoulders and great wings of Raphael and Rubens, may find solace in their words as they watch from on high the progress of Barry's fine decoration in Adelphi Terrace: Music, shown as Dr. Burney in a bob-wig, paddling in the water with the Tritons, Raleigh and Captain Cook—this does not seem Mr. Barry's happiest inspiration; but we, here below, can only placate his shade by sacrificing to Barry the half-penny stamp of his native land and to Fuseli some small Helvetic coin.

Before Ripa passes finally from our sight, let us review some of the singularities by which even in the twilight of his fame he marked this ultimate occidental land. The examples which might be multiplied are taken from stucco-work, architectural sculpture, medals and mantel-pieces, and date from 1740 to 1810. Having dealt with it elsewhere, I

[1] Barry: *On Composition*. Fuseli: *On Invention*. Mr. Niall Montgomery has directed my attention to another reference to Ripa, this time in Isaac Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature* (*circa* 1793). It is only fair to the Autolycian Jew to say that, while he deprecates Ripa's " far-fetched conceits," he also recognises a " darkly subtile " quality in his genius.

now merely refer to the Francini decoration of 85 St. Stephen's Green, where the figures of Divine Justice, Wisdom, Prudence, June and Iris, the impersonations of wealth deriving from land and sea, the Muses—all display Ripa's insignia. In Riverstown, Co. Cork, in the house built for himself by Dr. Jemmett Brown in 1745 and decorated by the same artists, there is a fine ceiling and nine panels of unusual interest. The ceiling is a copy in plaster of Poussin's ceiling designed for Cardinal Richelieu and now part of the Louvre collection. A painted copy of it once existed in Litchfield Street, London. It represents Time rescuing Truth from the assaults of Discord and Envy. Mâle has pointed out how closely Poussin followed Ripa in the delineation of the two last mentioned figures, and in vindication of Ripa I should mention that Barry, unwitting of this connection, expressly commends this Poussin design as a legitimate form of allegory. Some of the panels directly follow Ripa, others indirectly through Roman coins and gems. One, in particular, baffled me when I first saw it. A draped standing figure inverts a cup or urn over a vase from which the shoots of a plant are projecting. Its meaning grew clearer when I compared it with a picture by Laurent de la Hyre. This picture shows a similar female figure pouring water on a plant, but the figure carries as well a scroll inscribed *Vox litterata et articulata debito modo prononciata*. Exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1937, this picture was there called " La Littérature." It should be called " Grammar." In 1663 Sebastian Bourdon painted " Grammar " in similar fashion, but his engraver left the scroll blank. But if again you turn to the French edition of Ripa of 1644, you will find under the article " Grammaire " the same stately figure pouring water from a vase upon a growing plant, and carrying the scroll fully inscribed with the words I have already given. The text explains that these words define the art which teaches to speak and write correctly and that the young shoots are the tender spirits who shall presently bear exquisite fruit. This Riverstown work may be the pedantry of art, but it has at least respectable ancestry.

Let us pass from the *trivium* to natural history. A ceiling in Mespil House (1750) is the most accomplished piece of craft work of our eighteenth century. It shows the Elements and the Seasons in the strictest Ripa iconography. *Inter pulcherrima alia* June with her birds carries a chameleon on her lap, and the castellated Cybele as Earth is accompanied by a lion ; but this lion, in a singular and very marked fashion, is swishing its tail along the ground. In another room Medicine carries a knotted staff entwined with the serpent of Aesculapius, for Mespil house was built by a doctor. Referring to Ripa (arts. Aria, Carro della Terra, Medicina) we find (1) that Juno should have a chameleon " come animale chi non mangia cosa alcuna ne beve ; ma solo di aria si pasce e beve " (Pliny) —a diet confirmed by Shakespeare ; (2) that lions demonstrate the usage of agriculture and sowing because, " *come dice* Solinus, when lions journey

through dust they wipe out their footprints with their tails to baffle hunters and, so doing, they cover up seeds from hungry birds"; (3) that "Medicine shall have a cock, a serpent and a knotty staff because these animals, according to Festus Pompeius, are most vigilant—the serpent being as well the sign of health and of Aesculapius . . .The knotty staff indicates the difficulty of medical science." Confronting the public from the College of Surgeons and the Medical Hall in Westmoreland Street, the staff grows to a very gnarled club.

In the St. Stephen's Green Club there are ceilings of *circa* 1756 displaying a Fortitude copied from Domenichino, who followed Ripa, and with another Ripa borrowing in a little play of Roman manumission enacted by *putti* with the cap and club of Liberty. Here also is another set of Elements and Seasons in which a castellated Earth is associated with a lion, reduced this time to a mask, but also with keys because, as Ripa says, quoting Isidore of Seville, the earth locks up her seeds in winter and unlocks herself when the seeds come to birth. In these houses and in 76 St. Stephen's Green there are Riparian figures of winter, hooded and cloaked against its rigours or lying at a fire amidst winter's store. Other subjects, Sleep and Death, Night and Morning, are not uncommon in Dublin stucco; they have come down to our houses from Ripa by way of the Carracci and sometimes Thorwaldsen.

Our Dublin mantelpiece carvers, of whom Edward Smyth was one, drew from the same source; their subjects—the Seasons, Triumphs of Bacchus or Mars, the Gods, the Muses, Heroic Youth between Virtue and Pleasure. These carvers deserve separate and more extended treatment, but I may detail one, a History in 49 Upper Mount Street. History, a winged figure, inscribes her name on an oval, pointing with her other hand to an open book resting on a globe. Ripa requires all this, explaining that History being ever present should be winged; but his prescription, strictly observed, should also show the oval tablet resting on the shoulders of Saturn since History conquers Time; and this is indeed the form one finds commonly in seventeenth and eighteenth century monuments and engravings, and, slightly modified, in a panel by Edward Smyth on the King's Inns.

There is a medal by Mossop, our most distinguished medallist, showing Peace setting a torch to a pile of weapons and armour. One can trace this image back to Ripa by way of Cardinal Mazarin's tomb and pictures of Bourdon and, I think, Rubens; but behind Ripa is a coin of Augustus. One might multiply these instances to weariness to show that our author's iconography was a reservoir, fed from many sources and from which many streams flowed, some into now stagnant pools, some into what are still main streams of our artistic consciousness.

Let me end with two other examples from the work of Edward Smyth: one group from this common stock, the other more esoteric.

Not far from Francis Johnston's house in Eccles Street, where the Smyth medallions show many Ripa derivations, under the portico of St. George's there are keystones by Smyth of Faith, Hope and Charity—inferior certainly to the Custom House keystones, but none the less noteworthy. Faith carries in her head-dress a cross and a chalice ; Hope an anchor ; Charity a burning heart. These Ripa symbols remain in the tradition of Christian art. If you go further north to the garden front of the King's Inns, you will find many Ripa ensigns of Law and Justice—all of them, including Vigilance as a cock, immediately intelligible. But if you look at his trophy over the eastern arch of the Four Courts, you may well wonder what amongst the Law's insignia does this sceptre mean, which has an eye curiously carved in its oval finial. The eye is the prudent eye of justice. Ripa, Lairesse concurring, adopts the sceptred eye, an Egyptian hieroglyph signifying the authority of equity and prudence watching and penetrating men's actions. It appears also, I may add, in Boffrand's allegory of Justice in the Hôtel de Soubise. I regret that it is not accompanied by a Ripa ostrich. For if to some this wary eye appears a forced conceit, what are we to say of the association of the ostrich with Justice in Raphael's Hall of Heliodorus in the Vatican and on the tomb of Adrian VI. True, Barry and Fuseli make mock of Raphael and his ostrich, but Ripa approves the bird and calls in Horus Apollo and Aulus Gellius in support. Things come up for judgment, says Ripa, which must be disentangled and unravelled with toil and a patient soul, as the ostrich (as many writers say) digests iron although it is a most stubborn material ; Horus Apollo, however, on the different ground that the ostrich was the natural symbol of equity amongst the Egyptians because its tail feathers are of the same size.

In his earliest illustrated edition the portrait medallion of Cesare Ripa, Perugian and Knight of the Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, is set, if my recollection serves, between the figures of True Fame and volatile Rumour, and this frontispiece is followed by Latin and Italian sonnets and anagrams celebrating his genius. He remains in that ambiguous place. History's tablet bearing his name is now slipped under Saturn's wings, and the praise of the sonneteers makes equal dust upon it with Barry's obloquy. The cry is now with those whom Ben Jonson denounced as " squeamishly crying out that all endeavour of learning and sharpness in these transitory devices is superfluous." Lost to vision are these antique, remote mementos. The moving pictures write and vain are the efforts of those who

Tendebantque manus Ripae ulterioris amore.

C. P. Curran

IRISH INDUSTRY AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY 1921—1943

BY JAMES MEENAN, M.A.

THE first of the "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland" ran as follows: "Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State."

The tremendous implications of that Article were not least in the field of fiscal power. The right to impose customs duties passed under it, a right that was not seriously pressed until the last moment of the negotiations and, it would seem, recognised casually then. Power to impose tariffs was a vital addition to the functions of the new State. It was among the most important of those aspects in which the Treaty of 1921 went far beyond anything offered in the succession of Home Rule bills that had preceded it. None of them, neither the Gladstonian bills of 1886 or 1893 nor the Acts of 1914 or 1920, had contemplated the grant of full fiscal powers to the Dublin Parliament. Such a grant, it was thought, would lead to the subversion of the Union. Another opinion, equally widely held, was that no Dublin Parliament, having regard to the comparative importance of the English market to Ireland and of the Irish market to England, would dare to use such powers. Echoes of these feelings, slightly contradictory but equally unfavourable to the grant of customs control, may be heard in the evidence given to contemporary Commissions, to the Fiscal Inquiry Commission of 1896 and the Primrose Commission of 1911. And now, in 1921, the impossible had happened. The Legislative Union had been dissolved; the Commercial Union could be broken by an Irish Parliament.

Twenty-one years have passed since then during which industrial policy has been one of the most bitterly contested issues in our politics. It is fair to say that at no time have the arguments used been purely technical; economics have been thoroughly subordinated to political feeling. It is suggested that industrial policy, especially as regards protection, is closely interwoven with our history and that we must go back beyond the Treaty of 1921 to find the origins of our present policy. It is proposed to study these origins, secondly to recall the industrial situation in 1921, and then to trace our industrial policy under self-government.

Since the early forties the energies of successive generations had been devoted to the repeal or the overthrow of the Legislative Union. One of the most favoured arguments against that measure had been the ruin inflicted by its commercial clause on the industries fostered by Grattan's Parliament. The swift decline of Irish industry, the consequent lack of industrial skill, the continuing emigration were all attributed to that source. From the very start of the Repeal agitation, Irish writers, relying with diminishing validity on the investigations of Dr. (Sir Robert) Kane, had pointed to the spectacle of derelict or decaying mills and factories and contrasted it with a vision of smoking chimneys and lengthening streets under a new golden age of protection. The Union, it was felt, had doomed Ireland to be a purely agricultural country—" the fruitful mother of lowing flocks and herds," as Lord Carlisle was to put it six years after the Famine. Only under self-government could the country become industrialised ; only by industrialisation could the country fulfil its destiny and rise to its true position among nations. Self-government and protection for Irish industry became synonymous.

The identification of those aims began early. At the height of the Repeal agitation Davis summed up the aims of his generation : " Before this generation dies, it must have made Ireland's rivers navigable and its hundred harbours secure with beacon and pier, and thronged with seamen educated in naval schools, and familiar with every rig and every ocean. Arigna must be pierced with shafts, and Bonmahon flaming with smelting-houses. Our bogs must have become turf factories, where fuel will be husbanded and prepared for the smelting-house. Our coal must move a thousand engines, our rivers ten thousand wheels." The Famine invested these words with pathos. But, allowing for natural exaggeration, there was nothing inherently impossible in such a programme. So long as steam power was not wholly dominant, so long, above all, as labour was abundant and remained cheap, many of the resources of the country, so minutely enumerated by Dr. Kane, could have been developed.

Matters had changed greatly when Arthur Griffith—the disciple of Davis—gave his attention to Irish industry. Development of resources now meant machinery and therefore capital ; it could no longer be carried through by a mass of unskilled and underpaid labour. It meant therefore state-aid—therefore protection. It is clear that, to Griffith, the evils of the Union were summed up in the policy of Free Trade that followed it and that, while self-government was necessary for many national ends, it was necessary above all for the protection of Irish industry.

It would be well to inquire if this view of the nineteenth century is wholly correct. It will be suggested that the true charge against Free Trade is not that it ruined Irish industry—because it can be shown that many industries thrived on it—but rather that it produced a certain type of industry which did not cater for the Irish market. The second quarter of

the nineteenth century[1] witnessed the decline, if not the extinction, of many industries that had grown up under the encouraging legislation of Grattan's Parliament. It is not wholly true to say that they were forced out of existence by British competition. That was one of the causes; but no less vital weaknesses were their inability or unwillingness to turn to machinery in an age of rapid technical change and their interminable labour troubles. There was no one cause; there were all too many. But it can fairly be said that, granted their degree of development in 1800, the Irish industries would have needed two or three generations of protection, as their English rivals had enjoyed for two centuries, before they could have met cross-channel competition with confidence. Robbed of such security they foundered, one after the other, in the crises of the French War or in the increasing poverty that followed Waterloo or collapsed at last in the general ruin of the Famine.

On the other hand, Free Trade encouraged new industries while it destroyed the old. The new industries owed their rise and prosperity to exactly the same circumstances of free import and free competition that had proved fatal to their predecessors. The same decade that saw the Famine witnessed the rise of the linen and ship-building industries. The second half of that seemingly most un-industrial century saw the reorganisation of the brewing and distilling trades and a growth in the export of biscuits and jute. All of these industries could challenge comparison with the world. They were in fact world industries. If Dublin brewed and distilled chiefly for Great Britain, Belfast built ships for the world. Its linen and rope might be found in any country around the globe. It is a curious misreading of Irish history between the Famine and the Treaty that ignores the achievements of these trades.

It was natural that even so glowing a record did not endear Free Trade to Irish writers. These great industries—however great the employment they gave (and shipbuilding was the largest occupation in Ireland after agriculture) or however high the wages they paid—stood outside the home market. They were world industries that bought in Spain or Russia and sold in Great Britain and North America. Their raw materials came from abroad; only the barest fraction of their output was sold at home. None of the necessary coal or steel and but little of the flax or barley came from Ireland. Nor was Ireland a better customer. In none of the industries named was Irish consumption above a quarter, at the best, of the annual production: at the worst, it was practically nil.

Such a position was the direct result of a Free Trade world. These industries brought their raw materials from abroad, processed them in Dublin or Belfast, and exported the finished article to any of the five continents. They presented, in an exaggerated degree, all the characteristics

[1] Strictly speaking the Commercial Union was not complete until the removal of the last customs duties on British goods entering Ireland in 1824.

that Irish agriculture, even yet, displays—and for the same reasons. They imported raw materials; they had a huge surplus for export; therefore their interests were to be found abroad and they were but slightly interested in the fortunes of the home market.

The position in 1921, then, may be summarised in this manner. Both in agriculture and industry three generations of Free Trade had built up a flourishing export market. It was a specialised, and comparatively highly skilled, type of production. In industry this specialisation had resulted in the growth of large industries, catering for abroad, and in the extinction of smaller industries that might sell in the home market. The question was whether such industries could be developed without too much expense or too great a dislocation of so finely-balanced an economy. Agriculture might be bribed to produce for the home market by a system of guaranteed prices (in other words by increased taxation), but industry could not be developed without the equally artificial aid of protection. Partition, entailing the severance of the bulk of heavy industry from the Free State, simplified matters considerably. (It is interesting to speculate whether Griffith could have introduced his economic policy of Protection if he had succeeded in his political policy of a Kingdom of Ireland). Nevertheless the cost of protection had to be counted. It was agreed that development of industry for the home market would need the introduction of a protective policy. How far would tariffs, necessarily accompanied by an increase in the cost of living, affect the prospects of the exporting industries that were left and of agriculture, itself the greatest exporting industry of them all? How far, granted that the export trade would be affected, was it expedient that aid to domestic trade should outweigh the handicap to export? At what point did the gain to industry balance evenly with the loss to agriculture? Clearly, even though fiscal powers had been gained by the Treaty, their immediate use was not quite so obviously desirable as Davis or Griffith had assumed. It was a question of balancing possible loss with possible gain. And the same question remains to-day. It must inevitably underlie every economic decision made by the Government of this, or any other, State. It might be of advantage, therefore, to summarise some of the main points affecting industrial protection in this country. They are as valid now as in 1921.

Let us at once dismiss the argument that lack of native raw materials debars us from industrial production. The nineteenth century showed many examples of major industries that imported their raw materials and exported the resultant manufacture over the world. Belfast itself, not to speak of Lancashire, is a case in point. But qualifications must be made. In the first place, such a process of free import and export implies a degree of freedom of international trade that was conspicuously absent from the pre-war world whatever may be the promise of the peace. In the second place, this type of manufacture demands some special advantages, of soil

or climate or skill, in its location or its workers. In the third place, it must be in a position to buy its raw materials, including its labour, at as low a rate as possible. In other words the level of wages must not be artificially inflated in order to compensate for increased cost of commodities through protection of other articles. In other words, to draw a further conclusion, if the State wishes to encourage exporting industries, it should not at the same time make its own task more difficult by giving tariff protection to other industries. An industrial policy must be coherent.

Even if the industries are designed (as so many of our present industries are designed) to produce only for the domestic market, the lack of raw materials still presents no difficulties. But the limitations of a protective policy in such circumstances should be borne in mind. In the first place, it has to be remembered that the essential dependence on import remains. The goods are now manufactured or processed at home instead of being unloaded at the dockside. But their component parts must still be imported. This must necessarily mean that the prices of these commodities will be above that obtaining in a free market. In certain cases it may well be that increasing skill will reduce the gap between world and domestic prices. But that is a matter that will vary with each individual industry ; it is not a matter for generalisation. It is a matter that should be periodically reviewed.

It is, of course, quite legitimate to say that the employment given by this type of production is well worth the sacrifice represented by higher prices. But it is not legitimate to make this reply in every case. There are some industries protected to-day that we hope and believe will expand under tariffs. There are others that are purely blind-alley industries, giving employment indeed but with no hope or prospect of improvement. An example may put the point more clearly. The woollen industry is protected. It is an industry that we are entitled to hope will continue to increase its efficiency (and it has made strides already). It may, in favourable times, become a great exporting industry. By other tariffs, articles are imported and assembled or packed here. It has to be asked whether tariffs of such a nature get us anywhere. Certainly employment is given. But the occupation clearly will never grow more efficient once a certain stage is reached ; it will remain always at the same stage of development, a continuing tax on price. Is there not something to be said for reviewing the position of those types of employment that are nothing better than the assembly of ready-made parts ? By doing so, the real wages of workers in those industries that do promise better things would be increased.

There is another point. The fact that the raw materials must still be imported is a serious limitation on the changes that might otherwise be expected from a tariff policy. One of the most misleading phrases used to describe our tariff policy is that it is a policy of self-sufficiency. It is nothing of the sort. We import, in a normal year, as much as we ever did. Our imports in 1932 were valued at £42·5 million ; in 1938 at £41·4

million. It may be granted that allowance must be made for price movements and for the fact that during those years much machinery and other capital goods were imported, but the dependence on import remains. The difference is that previously we imported the finished article, while now we import its raw materials or import it half-assembled. The change means extra employment, if extra cost. But it does not affect the fact that we have to pay just as much each year for imports as we always did. For petrol and oil, rubber and cotton yarn, wood and paper, steel and tin, iron and wool, we must pay our forty-odd million pounds a year. If so, we must be able to export in order to find that amount of money. It follows that our exporting industries, including agriculture, must not be unduly handicapped by a policy that, through unlimited and indiscriminate protection, means an increased cost of living all round. Where the balance should be struck is a matter for the statesman to review from time to time. The main thing is that he should realise that a balance must be struck.

Lastly, if so many industries must still import their raw materials, the policy of protection must be selective. The raw material of one industry is often the finished product of another. It is no solution, and little help, to impose all-round protection. The good done to one industry might well be outweighed by the harm done to another.

Industrial protection will bring its best results if these points are borne in mind. Firstly, the aim of protection should be clear. Is it intended merely to give employment or is it intended to encourage potentially flourishing industries? If the latter, there is no ultimate good to be derived from raising costs all round by encouraging occupations that can never expand. Secondly, if protection is given, it should be preceded by inquiry as to whether a tariff may not interfere with some more promising industry. Thirdly, it has to be remembered that each tariff means, for some time at least, an increase in the cost of living. It may be that such a sacrifice would be ultimately justified. But that is a matter that varies from one case to another and should be open to review. Fourthly, it should be remembered that all these tariffs affect the exporting industries on whose prosperity the success of domestic production ultimately depends.

We may now turn to a consideration of the successive measures by which industry has been encouraged since the Treaty. The new Government appointed the Fiscal Inquiry Committee to inquire into the existing fiscal system and to report upon the possible effects of any changes designed to encourage agriculture or industry. The Committee's Report, published in 1923, while affording a valuable survey of existing conditions, did not go beyond referring to the possibly dangerous effect of industrial protection on agriculture and even on existing industries. Advice of this nature was acceptable to the Government. It had embarked on a policy of encouraging agriculture and improving its position in the export market. Unable to help Irish farmers in a world market, the State could assist them by keeping

their costs of production as low as possible at home. Under such circumstances it was clear that, while protection for industries was not completely ruled out, there would be no quick or far-reaching imposition of tariffs. In the event the Government celebrated the centenary of the Commercial Union by imposing a small number of tariffs on its own initiative; and in 1926 the examination of applications for tariffs was given to the Tariff Commission.

The reports issued by this body, during its effective life between 1926 and 1932, are models of clarity and are still of the greatest value to those who wish to trace the many links that bind even the most dissimilar industries to one another. It must equally be said that the onus of proof was always thrown on the applicant for a tariff. It was clear that the farmer enjoyed priority. No addition to his costs was to be lightly made. In less direct ways, however, by low taxation, the provision of electric power and the institution of technical instruction, the Government began to remove the major disabilities of Irish industry.

This policy of selective protection covered an oddly assorted number of industries—boots and shoes, bottles, soap and candles, confectionery and clothing, furniture and bedsteads, to mention some of them. Even so early as 1931, its encouraging effects could be seen in the Census of Industrial Production. All the indices showed an advance from 1926.

	Gross Output	Cost of Materials	NET OUTPUT			Numbers Engaged
			Total	Salaries and Wages	Remainder of Net Output	
	In Thousand £'s.					
1926	59,477	36,399	23,078	13,671	9,407	102,515
1931	54,884	29,282	25,602	14,041	11,561	110,588

The net output per person engaged had risen from £225 in 1926 to £232 in 1931. When one remembers the fall in industrial prices between 1929 and 1931, it is a most creditable advance for so short a period.

The pace of events soon outstripped the even progress of selective protection. The winter of 1931–32 saw two major events which, even without a change of Government, must have profoundly affected industrial policy. In the first place, the tide of emigration began at last to turn. In the years 1931 and 1932 there was a balance inwards of migrants, returning from the now workless cities of the United States. They formed at once an increasing body of unemployed who could not be easily absorbed into the existing economy. In the second place, the basis of the existing agricultural policy disappeared when Great Britain abandoned Free Trade and set about the protection of her agriculture. The Hogan policy had been directed towards enabling the Irish farmer to sell in a free market. If he were to do so with profit, his costs must be kept as low as possible.

Therefore protection had to be selective. But now the free market had ceased to exist, the importance of comparative costs had diminished, the argument against all-round industrial protection was gravely weakened. Clearly it was time to look to the home market, and if a growing industry could form a market for agricultural produce while the farmer bought the results of native industry, so much the better, it was thought, for everyone. The change of Government in March 1932, still more the Economic War that began in the following July, intensified all these difficulties, but they would have had to be faced even if these events had never happened.

It would be impossible, and indeed unnecessary, to attempt to list the commodities whose manufacture has been protected since 1932. Professor Toynbee has summed up recent policy by saying that everything from the cradle to the coffin is protected. It may be left at that. What may be more profitably studied is the precise nature of the present industrial system, the nature of the employment it gives, the wages it pays, the market it supplies. The Census of Production in 1938, the last full year of peace, showed the following results :

		NET OUTPUT			
Gross Output	Cost of Materials	Total	Salaries and Wages	Remainder of Net Output	Numbers Engaged
In Thousand £'s.					
1938 89,370	53,824	35,546	21,319	14,277	166,174

The net output per person engaged was £214.

The industries that showed the greatest expansion included some that had first received protection before 1931. Boots and shoes, sugar and confectionery, jam-making, hosiery, paper and stationery, bricks and clothing had the greatest percentage increase in output and numbers employed. The output per person engaged naturally shrank with the increase in the number of industries in production. The firms that appeared in the Census of 1931 were those that had prospered under Free Trade or had received selective protection. The output per person naturally reflected their greater efficiency and better organisation. When protection became general, it was natural that the average should decline. It is unfortunate that the political controversies that accompanied the foundation of these enterprises should have bred a tendency to underrate the very considerable progress of the last decade.

It goes without saying that by far the greater part of industrial production is destined for the home market. In the year before the war about 75 per cent. was for domestic consumption. The wheel has turned since the days when the home market was of small account to Irish industry. Another, and less pleasing, manner of presenting the same figures is to point out that the great increase in industrial production brought

no corresponding increase in industrial export. The export of manufactured goods, apart from food, drink and tobacco, totalled £2·2 million in 1935, £2·1 million in 1938. It is difficult to imagine that any export trade will quickly develop.

On the other hand the necessity to import is as imperative as ever, not merely to retain the standard of living of the population but also in order to purchase the raw materials necessary to this production. Purely Irish raw materials form but a small proportion of the amount needed by our industries each year. The exact proportion is uncertain and will vary with the definitions employed, but it is suggested that it is not more than 25% and may easily be less. Obviously not self-sufficiency.

Two conclusions follow. Firstly, whatever success has been enjoyed by industry has not benefited agriculture. The hope that a flourishing industry would become a secure and profitable market for the Irish farmer has been belied by events. In 1929–30 the home market paid £13·4 millions to the Irish farmer. In 1937–38 it paid £15·6. Even the small increase is illusory, since the later figures include subsidised wheat and beet which cost the taxpayer, including the farmer, some £2¼ millions. It seems clear that the 'home market' is of little use to our agriculture.

Secondly, it is obviously of the greatest importance to industry that agriculture should be prosperous. The need is two-fold. In the first place, at no time between 1932 and 1939 did the farmer possess an income sufficient to absorb industrial production. To a very great extent domestic industrial products were made and sold in the towns; there was little exchange between town and country.[1] If that is to be remedied, the farmer's income must be increased. In the second place, agricultural output and export must be increased, so that the imports of raw materials may be paid for.

This consideration brings us back again to an inescapable problem. Industrial protection has not resulted in a reduction of imports. It is dependent on continued imports each week of the year. It has brought greater employment which, being increasingly urbanised, seeks an improving standard of living, which in its turn must increase our demands for other imports. In other words industrial protection has increased, not diminished, our need of imports. It has, consequently, increased our need of exports to pay for those imports. It is clear that, within any measurable future, our only hope of an export trade lies in the older industries and in agriculture. On the other hand, it is equally clear that each addition to the tariff wall is an additional burden on the exporting industries. The dilemma cannot be evaded.

At the same time it is not capable of an easy solution. A policy designed to encourage and foster industry cannot be lightly changed. Capital has

[1] See "An Outlook on Irish Agriculture" by Senator Joseph Johnston, STUDIES, September 1939.

been obtained, factories have been built, machinery installed and labour employed on the unspoken understanding that protection will be continued for some time. Vested interests, not merely those of the shareholder but also those of the worker, have been created and cannot easily be repudiated. It may well be that some industries should never have received encouragement, but retrospective regrets are useless. *Fieri non oportuit, factum valeat.*

Certainly this is not the time to suggest that protection should be withdrawn from Irish industries. In the past four years they have, on the whole, continued efficient production in the face of increasing difficulties. A heavily stepped-up taxation has prevented many of them from acquiring those reserves that are so necessary to their future development. It would be a poor return to their services to the nation if, in a post-war reorganisation, they were to be scrapped without a full inquiry.

What is really necessary is that we should make a clean break with pre-Treaty thinking. There has been all too strong a tendency to consider industrial protection as an end in itself and to trust that, once it was applied, national prosperity would naturally follow. We have suffered greatly in the last ten years from indiscriminate and reckless encouragement of industries that have little or no hope of expansion. By their existence they draw capital and labour from more profitable employment while, at the same time, they increase the cost of living to the farmer. It should be recognised that industry and agriculture are complementary to each other and that measures taken for the one must, sooner or later, have their effects on the other. It should be recognised, too, that imports and exports go together and that no country, and certainly not this country, can hope for long to reduce the one and maintain the other. In other words, while little can be done to remedy the mistakes of the past, they should be remembered for post-war development. Few will disagree that Ireland without industries would be as a man without one arm; but it is rarely good economic policy not to let one hand know what the other doeth.

JAMES MEENAN

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY PATRICK G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART I.—THE CROW FAMILY

ONE advantage which the study of birds has over other branches of Natural History is the simplicity of the subject. In Botany the beginner is awed by the innumerable classes and families, by the intricate niceties of distinction between the species, by the very names of individual plants. Botany is, indeed, an absorbing study, full of pleasures when one has overcome the initial difficulties. But these difficulties loom so large that it requires courage to grapple with them and patience to master them. In Ornithology the families are comparatively few; the distinctions between the species are often evident; the names are usually familiar.

In most classifications of birds the Crow family is placed at the beginning or, at any rate, near the beginning. Apart from scientific reasons, it is a plan encouraging for the beginner. He feels he is on safe ground here. He says to himself: "Well, I don't know much about birds, but I do know the Crow when I see it." Of course he may get a slight shock later on, as his investigation progresses, when he finds that he does not know the Crow at all, but that he has been all his life wrongly calling the Rook by that name. However, a little more study of the matter restores his mental equilibrium, for he discovers that, though the Rook is not the Crow, still it is a member of the Crow family.

There are eight representatives of the Crow family in Ireland. They are big birds—the biggest of the Order of Passerine or Perching birds—and are easy to recognise. They are said to have intelligence of a higher kind than other birds, though they are inferior in vocal powers. Some of them are quite handsome and some play an important part in the economy of the land, while all prove most interesting on closer acquaintance.

The Raven is the largest of the Crows. It is unmistakable, at a reasonable distance, by its size, by its massive head and bill, and by its hoarse croak which sometimes resembles the bark of a dog. At close quarters the pointed throat-feathers, standing out like a ragged beard, may be noticed. Its flight is strong and purposeful. Especially near its resting place it delights in evolutions in the air. It will soar and wheel at a great height, "nose-dive", turn on its back and glide for some distance before righting itself. I have seen it more than once roll over and present its claws to an attacking Peregrine Falcon.

The food of the Raven is very varied, including carrion of all kinds. A few years ago as many as fourteen Ravens were counted around a dead

sheep on the Dublin Mountains. On the sea-shore I have frequently come across Ravens on dead animals and have noticed that rooks and sea-gulls wait at a respectful distance until they have finished their meal. The diet also includes rabbits, rats and mice and frogs, while lambs and helpless sheep are said to be occasionally attacked.

The Raven has increased a good deal in Ireland during the present century. It now seems quite common around our coasts where there are cliffs. Inland it favours mountains and wild hilly districts, though in its foraging it is indifferent to altitude, ranging from the sea-level to the mountain-tops.

Apart from its food, the Raven is one of the most noble of our birds in appearance, powers of flight and fearless habits. Hence it is not surprising to find it associated with well-known characters in history and legend. Noah sent a Raven out of the Ark to find out if the waters of the Deluge had abated. Elias was provided with bread and meat, morning and evening, by Ravens. Iceland is said to have been discovered by their means. While in prose and verse, from Shakespeare to Poe and Dickens, the Raven has often figured and generally, as has been noticed, without the amount of misrepresentation which is the fate of most birds mentioned by celebrated writers.

The Hooded Crow, Hoodie, Grey or Scald Crow, as it is variously called, is common in every country. Indeed, it is considered by many to be far too common. For, in addition to its harmless habit of feeding on carrion, it is a furtive marauder, destroying as it does large numbers of eggs and young of other birds. Its reputation in this respect is blacker than that of its black relative, the Carrion Crow. There is, indeed, something sinister about its cunning quartering of the countryside in search of victims, and its very croak, deep and guttural, sounds ruthless and ominous. Yet the Hooded Crow is a handsome bird with its french-grey body and black head, throat, wings and tail.

Hooded Crows, unlike Rooks, are not gregarious in their nesting habits, and outside the nesting season they usually hunt in pairs, though family parties and small flocks may be met with. In Great Britain the winter visitors which arrive every autumn in great numbers from the Baltic countries and Scandinavia are frequently gregarious, but there is no evidence that these migrants reach Ireland.

The Carrion Crow is the Crow proper. Hitherto it has been a very rare bird in Ireland. In 1890 a pair nested in Co. Mayo and the young were satisfactorily identified. Individual birds have been reported from many countries, and probably many more have been overlooked owing to its general resemblance to the Rook. To distinguish the two requires close inspection. The Carrion Crow is somewhat bigger, with a stouter

and more curved bill and a deeper and more guttural note. Its plumage has a rather greener gloss and is more compact than the Rook's, which tends to hang loosely especially over the thighs. Then the Carrion Crow has the base of the bill fully feathered, being at all ages without the greyish white bare patch so obvious above the bill in the adult Rook.

Though it is still undoubtedly a rare bird, I would here venture a prophecy that the Carrion Crow will probably establish itself in Ireland in the near future. At any rate it is making a determined effort to do so in Co. Dublin, and if it succeeds in Dublin it will certainly extend to neighbouring counties. In 1935 in the north of Co. Dublin, a male Carrion Crow mated with a Hooded Crow and had a nest and young. In 1939 and every year since up to the time of writing (1943), in the south of the county, a female Carrion Crow paired with a male Hooded Crow and successfully reared its young. It is interesting that the majority of the hybrids of these unions were in plumage like the Hooded Crow, at least one was like the Carrion, while some were of a mixed plumage showing more black and less grey than in the Hoodie. I might add that, where the two species overlap, it is not unusual for the Carrion and Hooded Crows to interbreed. Except for the difference in colour, they are very similar species in size, voice and habits. Indeed some ornithologists regard these two birds as races of one species, and the fact that the hybrids are fertile confirms their view.

The Rook, generally and inaccurately called the Crow in Ireland, is so common, even in our cities, that it needs no description. I have already mentioned a curious feature of the adult Rook, namely the greyish-white patch of bare skin above the bill. The young Rook, however, until it is about a year old, has its head fully feathered like other birds. This characteristic of the young Rook has at times led the unwary watcher to believe that he has seen a Carrion Crow. I recall an incident of a few years ago when several Carrion Crows were reported from a certain district. But when a specimen was shot for identification, it was found, of course, to be a juvenile Rook.

Rooks are essentially gregarious in feeding, nesting and roosting habits. The winter roost is often different from the rookery and sometimes comprises the population from more than one rookery. At the winter roosts, before the birds settle down for the night, there is much bickering over desirable positions, and the noise is querulous and discordant as of an unruly mob. But the sounds proceeding from an occupied rookery are peaceful and soothing. That is not to say that there are no squabbles about nesting sites and no pilfering of building materials, but the general effect is of a contented and soft-voiced, if not musical community.

Hence the people of the country like to have a rookery in the vicinity of their homes. I once heard an old lady express regrets that the Rooks

had abandoned the rookery outside her window. She did not particularly like Rooks, but she loved to hear the murmur and babble from the nests on the tree-tops. For years she had looked forward to the return of the birds every spring, and now she sadly missed them. The Rookery had been part of the old home and bound up with its pleasant associations.

Though more of a vegetarian than the other crows, the Rook is on the whole beneficial. To some extent it destroys grain and roots. But the use of certain patent poisons, to protect the crops against Rooks, is a reprehensible and dangerous practice. Where the poison has been put down, very often the beautiful, harmless and useful birds of the countryside have perished. Valuable dogs, domestic animals and fowl have been known to suffer. On one occasion a human tragedy was narrowly averted. Some children, finding a wood-pigeon dying of poison but thinking that it had been shot, brought it home and had it cooked for dinner. Fortunately the farmer, who happened to call at the cottage, told the cause of the bird's death, and the children were saved. The time-honoured use of the scare-crow and the shot-gun have proved more effective and, certainly, less objectionable remedies. We must remember that the services of the Rook in checking farm pests, especially the wire-worm, the larva of the click beetle, and the " leather-jacket " the larva of the crane fly or " daddy-long-legs ", far outweigh the damage done to the crops. But for the Rook and other birds the land would be overrun with destructive larvæ, slugs and beetles, and the harvest would be poor indeed.

The Jackdaw is very common and apparently increasing in this country as elsewhere. It is smaller than the Rook, with more compact build, shorter bill and, when adult, with grey nape and ear coverts. It seems a light-hearted bird, with a sense of humour and a flair for mischief, sharing with other members of the family a propensity for hiding food and inedible objects. It perches on sheep and searches the wool for ticks, and will pick hair from the backs of horses and cattle as lining for its nest. It consorts with Rooks in feeding on the ground and in roosting in trees. I have often seen in the evening from 500 to 1,000 Jackdaws, with fewer Rooks, coming to roost in holm oaks in the suburbs of Dublin, and I noticed that some hundreds of them continued to use the roost during the nesting season, when the Rooks had moved to the rookery. It nests in holes in trees, in ruined buildings and on sea-cliffs. Great quantities of sticks are often used as a foundation for the nest, and chimneys have frequently been blocked up by these tireless birds.

The Magpie is so common now that one may be surprised to hear that it was unknown in Ireland until near the end of the seventeenth century. A Robert Leigh, writing from Co. Wexford in 1684, says : " About eight years ago there landed in these parts a parcel of Magpies

which now breed." Another writer of the same time speaks of the flight as " under a dozen " which, as he remembered, came with a strong easterly wind. Hence, it is supposed that these birds were blown across from Great Britain in a storm. Thus introduced, they quickly established themselves and spread over the whole country.

The Magpie is really a beautiful bird of black and white, the black having many tinges of blue, purple and green, and it has a long wedge-shaped tail. If it were not such a common bird it would, no doubt, be more highly prized. But it must be confessed that it is not popular, being usually regarded as a bird of ill omen—though indeed, " two for joy " of the old rhyme are more often seen than " one for sorrow ". For it normally hunts in pairs or in small parties. In the Phœnix Park I have frequently seen flocks of from 30 to 40. Its unpopularity is heightened by its cunning and patient methods of stealing the eggs and killing the young of other birds. I have watched it skulk about the tree-tops in a herony, waiting until a passer-by would disturb a Heron from its nest, when it would slip in quietly and disappear with an egg.

The Magpie selects a tall tree for its nest, though at times, even in well-wooded country, it will build in bushes and hedgerows. The nest is bulky, being made of sticks cemented with earth and clay and with a lining of fine roots. Above the nest is a loose dome of thorny sticks, with an opening at one side.

The Jay also belongs to the Crow family, though externally, like the Magpie, it does not resemble the other Crows. This species must not be confounded with the Mistle Thrush, which in Ireland is often called the Jay or the Jay Thrush. The Jay proper is a colourful bird, with a black and white crest, vinous brown back and wing coverts barred black, white and blue. At the base of the bill is a conspicuous black moustachial streak.

The Irish Jay is regarded as a sub-species distinct both from the Continental and English Jays and has darker and more rufous colours. The Continental Jay is greyer than both the English and Irish birds, with less pink on the back and with paler breast and flanks. The habits of all three varieties seem to be the same, but Mr. C. B. Moffat has pointed out that the Irish Jay with nearly fledged young habitually mobs intruders with a volley of imitations of other birds, a habit which English observers, with one exception, have not recorded of their Jay.

The Jay is a woodland bird, sly and wary, though noisy enough—except during the nesting season, when it is strangely silent. Its harsh screech, a strident " Kraak, Kraak ", not unlike the " Frank " of the Heron, is often heard behind the trees and sometimes calls our attention to a flash of white as the bird dodges out of sight. It is sad to have to record that such a beautiful bird is as notorious an egg-thief and killer of nestlings

as its relative, the Magpie, while it is more of a coward. I have seen a Jay fly, with screams of terror, from an angry Mistle Thrush or Blackbird, with whose nest it had probably taken liberties.

The Jay, which was formerly found only in the counties watered by the Suir, the Barrow and the Nore, has during the present century extended its range west and north. It has now reached all, save some half-dozen, counties of Ireland, and, as it is still spreading, it will probably in the near future occupy the whole country. The Irish Jay was so long a local bird, just holding its own, that its spread seems phenomenal, as it certainly is spectacular. It has been paralleled only by the extension of the Fulmar Petrel, a sea-bird which comes to land only for nesting. From time immemorial in these islands the Fulmar bred only in St. Kilda, in Scotland. Then towards the end of the last century, for some unknown reason, it began to extend its range in Great Britain. In 1908 it reached this country, and in 1910 two pairs bred in Co. Donegal. It quickly spread down the west coast, and now it nests practically around the whole of Ireland where there are suitable cliffs, having reached the Saltee Islands in 1930 and Lambay Island in 1935. Such extensions of birds are heartening and they compensate, to some extent, for the extermination in the past of our Eagles and others of our noble raptorial birds.

The Chough, or Sea Crow, is the most graceful, as it is the rarest, member of the family. Its plumage is blue-black with a greenish gloss, and its curved bill and legs are bright red. Its flight is buoyant and undulating, the wings spread out with the outer feathers separated like fingers. Its voice is clear and musical and high-pitched—" tchuff ", from which it gets its name, being a common call. We could well spare some other members of the family for an increase of this charming species. But the Chough is too conservative in habits and too lacking in resource in the face of competition to extend its range.

The Chough is now confined principally to the precipitous coasts and islands of the north, west and south, having abandoned its eastern nesting sites in Wicklow and Dublin about 1852 and having withdrawn from most of the inland mountain cliffs where it used to breed. In Ireland, as in England, this species was formerly much more widespread, but now it is said to be holding its own in its restricted haunts in both countries. In recent years the Chough made an attempt to establish a new colony on the Great Saltee Island. Some five or six pairs nested from 1930, but last year (1942) I was sorry not to hear or see any on the island and to find the nesting caves occupied in force by the more pushful Jackdaws. In England the peaceful penetration rather than the open aggression of the Daws is said to be largely responsible for the decrease of the Chough, and it seems the same cause has operated unfavourably on the colony in the Saltees.

P. G. KENNEDY

GRACE O'MALLEY: THE QUEEN OF THE WEST

BY CONOR MAGUIRE, M.D.

GRACE O'MALLEY (Irish name Gráinne Ní Mháille) was a most remarkable and famous woman who lived in the reign of Elizabeth of England. She has been commonly called Gráinuaile—a corrupt amalgam of her Christian name and surname. It is not easy to understand why Gráinne was translated Grace; I suppose it was the nearest English equivalent they could get. Gráinne means ugly; but the same word means a grain, a small quantity—as one might say a grain of tea or sugar. The proper Irish for Grace would be Grás; so it is rather a puzzle to find an explanation of the translation of Gráinne into Grace.

Gráinuaile was a daughter of Dubhdhara O Máille, who was the Lord of upper Umhall Uí Mháille in the region of Murrisk in the county of Mayo. There is no record of the date of her birth; but from what Sir Richard Bingham wrote of her in 1593, "the nurse of all the rebellions in Connact for the past 40 years," we may guess that she was born about 1530. It is probable that she spent her childhood and early years on Clare Island, and that it was there she learned all about ships and the sea. The local tradition is that she was born in the monastery on Clare Island.

Gráinne had a brother who was heir to his father's lands, but she ousted him and made herself owner and master over her father's territory. The O'Malley territory embraced Clare Island and Achill.

The tradition is that she was a very beautiful woman—"The dark lady of Doona." At any rate, she had a very commanding presence, and her exploits show that she was a capable sea-captain and a ruler of men. It is said that she died in 1603 in the same year as Queen Elizabeth. There is a doubt as to where she was buried. Some say Clare Island, others Doonagh or Burrishoole, which latter retains the old name of the O'Malley territory. I refer my readers to a learned paper by T. J. Westropp, published in the Proceedings of R.I.A. (Vol. 31, section 1) on the history and archaeology of Clare Island. In the old abbey on the island there is an inscription on the wall "O'Maille" and, above the name, "Terra marique potens." The O'Malleys were warlike and fond of the sea (See poem on them by O'Dugan, who died in 1372).

Gráinne built a castle on Clare Island which is still standing on a rock. It is of low square outline, with bartizans projecting from two corners. It was used as a coast-guard station in the early part of the last century. She also had a castle on the island of Achill, near the shore of

the sound which separates the island from the mainland, called Killdownet. There is a burial ground bearing the same name close to the castle. This castle is in good preservation.

Tubber na feile Brigide on Clare Island is associated with Gráinne in this way. When she was a girl she rescued a young man from a shipwreck, and he fell deeply in love with his preserver. They were married at the altar near the well and lived very happily for some years. Then a feud arose between the MacMahons of Ballycroy and the O'Malleys. The MacMahons surprised the O'Malleys at a deer hunt in Achill, and Gráinne's husband fell in an ambuscade. The young widow made a solemn vow of vengeance and bided her time. Hearing from an Erris man that the MacMahons were under a curse for killing a young man at Achill and were going on a pilgrimage to Caher Island, she manned all her galleys and anchored behind them. Waiting until they had landed, she then cut off their retreat, slew many and captured the slayer of her husband, whom she brought to Cliara and hanged with several of his confederates. Not being satisfied with this, she sailed to Ballycroy, surprised Doona Castle, killed the occupants and made it her principal residence. This is a traditional story about her.

Another tradition about Gráinne is that, on the day on which her son Tibbot na long was born at sea, her galley was attacked by a Turkish privateer. The crew lost heart and sent to her for help. She cursed them, put a blanket about her, and came up jumping and dancing with a blunderbus in each hand. The Turks crowded round to look at her and, when the officers were in a group, she fired, shot them all, captured their ship and hanged all the crew at Carrigahowley.

Gráinne besieged O'Loghlen of Burren, Co. Clare; but a cannonshot tore up the ground at her feet and the clan mustered and put her to flight. She cursed the gunner and said: "It's well you haven't knocked me down." She reduced much of Connact by the aid of the Burkes, who made her son Tibbot na long to be MacWilliam Iochtar.

The following story is told of her. She built Caislean na Kirke (Castlekirk) on a small islet in the most westerly bay of Lough Corrib, near Maam. To that place she is said to have brought the son of the Earl of Howth. Her husband O'Flaherty was at war with the Joyces, who ultimately took the castle, but Gráinne escaped. This old castle can be seen distinctly from Maumeen na gowan hill on the way from Cornamona to Maam.

Gráinne married Domnall O'Flaherty in 1550. He was of Bunowen in the barony of Ballinahinch in Connemara. He was nicknamed Tadg an Chogaidh—Thady of the war—and was the Lord O'Flaherty of West Connact. He also laid claim to the presidency of all Connemara; but another O'Flaherty, whose real name was Thady, disputed the title with him and many battles were fought between the rivals.

It is said that Gráinne had two sons and one daughter by O'Flaherty—Eoin, Murrogh and Mary. When Eoin came of age, he married Kathleen de Burgo of Castlebar, a lady who was always on the side of the English. But although the couple were satisfied to obey the English laws, Sir Richard Bingham ordered that Eoin should be put to death. Some say the deed was done on Omey Island ; others say it was on Innish Turk.

When her husband Domnall O'Flaherty died, Gráinne deserted Bunowen and, with her daughter, came to live in Clare Island or in Killdownet. Shortly after this her daughter married Richard de Burgo, called Devil's Hook. If she left the O'Flaherty territory, it is very unlikely that she retained possession of Castlekirk ; and therefore it was not to that place she took the son of the Earl of Howth.

Now that her daughter was married, Gráinne herself married Ricard an Iron Burke, chief of Carra and Burrishoole. He succeeded Sir John Burke as MacWilliam Iochtar. By this marriage she became possessor of Carrigahowley. The name of this castle means castle of the fleet—Rockfleet. The castle, which is built on a bare rock at the edge of the tide, is still in good condition. It is at the end of a deep well-sheltered bay, which afforded good anchorage for her ships, and about a mile off the main road to Mullranny. In 1574 Gráinne is said to have driven off a fleet, presumably English, sent to besiege Carrigahowley.

In 1580 her husband took up arms against the British, and she helped Malbie to attack him. Evidently they had quarrelled—probably about politics—but three years later they were reconciled. Ricard an Iron died in 1583 and she continued to live at Carrigahowley. In 1586 the English suspected that she was helping the Burkes, and she got into trouble by taking three boats at Aran at the instigation of the O'Flahertys ; at this time she was not aware that peace had been made.

Her alliance with Ricard brought a strong faction to her side. She had her son-in-law at Ceann Diarmada—this was probably a castle on the coast near Burrishoole abbey—her own blood relations at Murrisk, Clare Island and Achill, and herself at Carrigahowley.

We are not told where or how Gráinne managed to collect a fleet of ships. But there is no doubt she had what would be considered at that time a formidable fleet. If she had one or two ships to start, she could, as she went round the coasts, have seized and made her own some of the ships she plundered. It is said that she robbed the ships of everything valuable ; and if she was able to do this, she could easily have seized the ships. So far as we know there was no ship-building place along the coast ; so we may safely conclude that she seized ships as well as the cargo. Her ships were called galleys. I don't know what would be their size or tonnage, or whether they were propelled by sail or oars.

To go back a bit in her history. In the year 1576 she visited Sidney, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Galway. We are not told what Sidney

was doing at Galway; but in 1583 he wrote an account of this visit as follows: "A most famous feminine sea-captain came to me, called Grany Imallye, and offered her services wherever I would command with three galleys and two hundred fighting men, either in Ireland or in Scotland. She brought with her her husband; for she was by sea as well as by land more than master and mate to him. He was of the nether Burkes and now, I hear, is MacWilliam Eighter—called by nickname Ricard an Iron." Apparently Sidney did not accept her offer; for shortly after this interview she raided the Aran Islands.

Gráinne's next exploit was to attack the Earl of Desmond at the mouth of the Shannon. We are not told how the naval battle ended; but we are told that the Earl of Desmond seized her shortly after, at Tarbert in Kerry, while she was raiding his lands. Desmond handed her over to Drury and she was imprisoned for several months. In 1578 Lord Justice Drury, while he was in Leighlin, wrote of her: "To that place was brought to me Grania Ní Maille, a woman of the province of Connact, governing a Country of the O'Flahertys, famous for her stoutness of courage and person and for sundry exploits of hers at sea. She was taken by the Earl of Desmond a year and a half ago and has remained ever since, partly with him and partly in Her Majesty's Jail in Limerick, and was sent for now by me to come to Dublin, where she is yet remaining."

Her imprisonment did not subdue her, for we are told that Captain William Martin was compelled to attack her castle for three weeks in March 1579, trying to seize her again on account of the damage she had done. He failed to catch her. The English offered a reward of £500 to any person who would give her up as a prisoner or bring in her head to the British army; but her friends did not betray her and the English did not lay hold of her. In spite of the dangers, the fighting and the hardships of this piracy Gráinne seems to have enjoyed it. It was a profitable game, and she was accustomed from her youth to a strenuous seafaring life. It was in her blood to be going into the gap of danger, and she was evidently an expert sea-captain.

Gráinne had one son by Ricard an Iron. As it happened that he was born at sea, he was called Tibbot na long (Tibbot of the ships). Tibbot is the usual Irish equivalent for Toby or Tobias. Tibbot na long inherited his mother's courage and ability and became the principal man in Mayo at the close of the 16th century. In the reign of Charles I he was created Lord Mayo.

In 1589 Gráinne raided the Aran Islands and robbed some of Sir Robert le Strange's men to the value of 20 marks. She is said to have taken three cargo boats with her on this raid. This was before she learned about the peace which was concluded in Mayo. She was then put in the charge of her son-in-law Richard Burke until she restored the loot she had seized in Aran.

After the peace Gráinne settled at Carrigahowley Castle about the year 1593. She had by this time got the Queen's pardon ; and in June of the same year she went to London and was about Elizabeth's Court during July and August. She sought the release of her son Tibbot, whom the Governor Sir Richard Bingham had arrested on a charge of conspiracy with Brian O'Rorke to start a rebellion and offering to raise Mayo men for joint action with chiefs of Ulster. She also begged for the release of her brother Domhnall na pipe, who was charged with murdering some British soldiers. Also, she asked that her sons should succeed to the lands of their fathers and that they and Walter and John, grandsons of Walter Fada Burke, should be permitted to surrender their lands and receive them back by grant under letters patent. Finally, she asked for maintenance for herself as she was now poor, having gambled her means at cards.

Discussions with the Queen in reference to Ireland took some time ; but in the end Gráinne returned to Ireland with a letter from the Queen to Sir Richard Bingham which secured the release of Tibbot. The letter was as follows :—

> " Sir Richard has given no cause of complaint of Sir Morough O'Flaherty, Granny Ne Malley and Roebuck French, who have come to the court with suits and complaints. The Queen approves of the favour which Sir Richard has shown to her eldest son Morough, who had been dutiful to the Queen when his mother preyed him with her galleys, and desires him to continue to favour him.
>
> But the second son, Tibbot Burke, one that had been brought up civilly with your brother and can speak English, is by you justly detained because he hath been accused of having written a letter to Bryan O'Rorke the late traitor's son, though it can not be fully proved and is by him utterly denied. And for her brother Donald who hath been imprisoned 7 months past, being charged to have been in company with certain others that killed some soldiers in a ward. As Bingham thinks they may be released on bonds for good behaviour, the Queen is content and the old woman has departed with great thankfulness.
>
> For pity of this aged woman having no title to any livelyhood or portion of her husband's lands she desires Sir Richard to deal with her sons in the Queen's name to yield her some maintenance for the rest of her old years. She has confessed her ill usage of her son and promises by oath to continue most dutiful."

In her answers to questions put to her by the Queen, Gráinne throws light on the social conditions in Ireland at that time. She said that, among the Anglo-Irish chieftains, the widow of a chief never got any thirds. The chief's rents were uncertain and for the most part extorted.

A woman was only entitled to her first dowry, for which her husband had to give security for restitution in case of widowhood. Chieftains usually die in debt, and husbands divorce their wives very often and marry others without any legal formalities. It is not easy to believe this of the old Norman families who were Catholics, because in the Catholic Church they could not be married while the lawful wife was alive.

There are some traditional stories among the old people about some incidents which are said to have happened during her conversations with the Queen. Keeping lap-dogs was a favourite custom with rich ladies in England ; so the Queen offered a present of a nice lap-dog to Gráinne so that she should be in the fashion of the time. This offer was indignantly refused with bold words : " Heart-burn on the putach (fat animal). He suits an idler like you who has nothing better to do than to be petting a sciortán (tick) like that." " Oh," said the Queen, " you are mistaken ; I am not an idler. Have I not a large kingdom to manage and govern." " Perhaps so," said Gráinne, " but there are many poor persons in West Mayo with only a small garden who have more to do than you have."

At another interview the Queen offered to make her a Countess. Gráinne answered : " I don't want any of your titles. Are we not both equal in the world and would it not be as well for me to make a Countess of you ? You can do what you like for my son Tibbot, but I won't take any titles from you I shall have no name but Gráinne of the Isles ní mháille."

On her way back to Ireland Gráinne landed at Howth and proceeded to Howth Castle. It so happened that the Earl of Howth had a large party of friends at dinner when she knocked at the door. She knocked repeatedly, but there was no response and the door was not opened. This annoyed Gráinne very much, as such was not the way feasts were carried out in the west. It happened that the Earl's eldest son was walking about in front of the castle. Gráinne seized the boy and carried him off to the west.

When the boy was missed, fruitless searches were made by the Earl. We are not told how he found the truth of the story as to the boy's whereabouts. But when he did discover, he had to enter into negotiation with Gráinne, who offered to restore the boy if the Earl would give a solemn undertaking that in the future the door would remain open during the dinner hour. The Earl gave the promise and his son was restored safe and sound. (MacFirbis, in his book of genealogies, says that the Lord of Howth was carried off by Richard Burke.)

On her return to Mayo, Gráinne seems to have kept her promises to Queen Elizabeth. At least we find no further reference to her in State Papers. In any case she was a broken and impoverished woman. She seems to have died in 1603, in the same year as Queen Elizabeth, as already stated. For some of the stories I have to thank my old friend Fionan Mac Collum.

CONOR MAGUIRE

THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF IRELAND

BY FREDERICK C. KING

ONE of the major concerns of those who guide the destinies of our country must be the position which small nations will hold in the international economy of the future. The present war will certainly not leave the economic pattern of the world unchanged and, if present indications are any guide, the change will be in the direction of greater state-control of foreign trade. We seem to be on the threshold of an era in which economic power will be mobilised by governments in the same way as political power and military power are now controlled. This change will have far-reaching effects. A state may control military and political activities within its borders without thereby infringing the rights of other countries. Each nation, great and small, is free to set its own house in the order of its own choice, provided it does not make itself an international nuisance. The badly kept, disorderly house is just as unpopular in international as in domestic society. In the security of peace and friendship, no country is prejudiced by the fact that a neighbouring government controls the military and political potential of its own citizens. The dogs of war are chained watch-dogs, dangerous only to trespassers, until they are unleashed by an international crisis.

It is different with governmental economic control. Such control cannot be impounded within the frontiers of a state. It infiltrates into the economy of its neighbours. World economy is, in fact, indivisible, and the nation which starts to control its foreign trade is reaching out beyond its own frontiers and endeavouring to exercise an international control. This fact is now clearly recognized, and the tendency in future will be either to place international trade under the agreed control of a world authority or else to subject it to the domination of the strongest powers. If world economic control can be based on common consent, we may look forward to an era of world peace and prosperity; whereas the alternative, domination by the victorious powers, leads so obviously to unstable and restrictive conditions, prejudicial to trade and prosperity, that even the strongest powers will hesitate to court the narrowing of markets from which those nations which have the chief stake in international trade would themselves be the chief sufferers.

How will Ireland, a small nation, fare in an internationally controlled economy? In seeking for an answer to this question it is first necessary to take stock of ourselves and to examine how we stand in relation to other nations with whom we deal or compete. We are mainly an agricultural country, classed in world trade as a non-industrial creditor nation. Our chief asset is our land, which is fertile and more than adequate for our

own needs. We are poor in other natural wealth. Our capital resources, which are chiefly invested in the United Kingdom, are moderate in extent. Our labour force is neither large nor highly trained, but is adequate, without the aid of immigration, for our present state of development.

Our position in international trade is not insignificant. It can be discovered by a reference to the 1942 League of Nations publication *The Network of World Trade*. Taking the sum of exports and imports for the last pre-war year (1938) as our measure, we come fifth amongst the non-industrial nations of Europe—ranking after Denmark, Norway, Poland and Finland, but before Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Roumania, Hungary, Jugo-Slavia, Greece and Bulgaria. Comparing ourselves with the smaller industrial nations of Europe, we find that our share of world trade is roughly one-fifth of that of Belgium and the Netherlands, one-third of Sweden and one-half of Switzerland. Our closest comparison is with Denmark, New Zealand, Australia, Norway, Finland and Portugal—all of which are mainly agricultural countries like ourselves. Australia, with a population of nearly seven millions, has three times our foreign trade; while Portugal, whose population is also about seven millions has but half our trade. Denmark, with a slightly larger population than our own, has double our trade. We stand above Norway in population, but well below her in volume of trade. Finland is practically our equal both in population and trade, while New Zealand, with half our population, equals our trade. The bulk of Australia's, Denmark's, New Zealand's, Finland's and our own exports go to the United Kingdom. The greater part of Norway's and Portugal's go elsewhere. Finland's exports are of a different character from ours. This leaves us with Australia, New Zealand and Denmark as our chief competitors in our principal market—Australia and New Zealand being members of the United Nations, and Denmark and ourselves being outside the circle.

So much for our peers in world trade. Now let us look at the pattern of world trade as a whole and our place in it. Our share of total world trade is 1-164th. Our foreign trade (export and import) is in the ratio of 1 : 24 to the foreign trade of the United Kingdom. The British Commonwealth of Nations is the biggest trading combine in the world, accounting for 33 per cent. of world imports and 27% of world exports. The foreign trade of the United Kingdom, excluding gold, is considerably larger than that of the U.S.A., which is largely self-supporting and a large proportion of whose production is utilised in internal trade. The United States of America with her overseas possessions, Latin America and the British Commonwealth of Nations account between them for half the world's trade. Of the other countries of the world it is interesting to note that Germany comes third after the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. The Soviet Union, whose trade is chiefly internal, ranks low—even below a small country like Denmark. The Netherlands and Belgium have a bigger

share of international trade than Italy and about the same as Japan. The trade of China and Manchuria about equals that of Belgium. India also ranks high.

It may also be seen in *The Network of World Trade* that the United Kingdom was in 1938 the greatest purchaser of agricultural produce in the world, taking 81% of the pork entering into world trade, 80% of the beef and mutton, and 78% of the butter. How these figures will be affected by the intensive development of British agriculture during the war we cannot say; but it is likely that Britain will not, in future, afford so great a market for agricultural produce as in the past. The reduction will probably tell heaviest against those who have not fought with the United Nations during the war. Consequently, we as well as the Danes must look forward to a greatly reduced share in Britain's agricultural import trade in the immediate post-war years.

This prospect brings us up against the problem of maintaining our standard of life. Hitherto, as trading members of the British Commonwealth of Nations if not as full political members, we have enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in the world. To keep that standard we must maintain the level of our foreign trade. If we lose our foreign trade, our standard of life becomes automatically altered. We shall always have enough to eat; but there will be less variety in our supplies, our needs and our pleasures will not be so well catered for, our raiment will not be so fine, the luxuries of life will be fewer, and existence on the whole will be more drab and monotonous.

If, in the world of tomorrow, we shall have lost, as a consequence of our neutrality, the favoured position we held in the British market, it is the price which we are deliberately paying for our policy. I trust we shall never seek, in the post-war settlement, favours to which we cannot justly lay claim. I feel, however, that we shall obtain fair and equal treatment in whatever new economic order is set up. Two model plans for the regulation of the finance of international trade have already been published, the Keynes plan from Great Britain and the Morgenthau plan from the U.S.A. Under both plans there would be assigned to each country a determined quota of the finance of international trade which would be fixed on a definite basis: the country's share in international trade under the British plan; its national income, its holding of gold and foreign exchange, and the extent of its trade balance under the American plan. We know exactly how we should stand under the British plan. We should hold about 1-164th of the total finance of international trade. It is not possible to estimate exactly whether our position would be better or worse under the American plan. We might be prejudiced by the smallness of our gold holdings; but this, on the other hand, might be compensated by our large holding of sterling. In any event it is probable that we should get a fair start under both schemes.

In the management of the schemes our influence, if we remain isolated as now, will be but negligible. We shall be a very small nation with a very weak voice, and that means that we must follow the lead of the more powerful groups or virtually drop out of world trade. The world can do without us, but we can't do without the world. Consequently we shall, perforce, have to be good world citizens and follow the rules of the international game. We must play fair. We shall not be allowed to take more out of the common pool than we put in. Our standard of living will depend strictly on our contribution to the world's needs. We cannot hope to better ourselves by dodges such as currency manipulation. We must, in short, keep in step with the rest of the economic world. That means that the dividends we draw from our international trade will be in proportion to the efficiency we put into our production and not to the valuation which we ourselves would like to place on our products.

In such conditions need we fear the future? I do not think so. We constitute a not inconsiderable market for foreign produce, and this will give us some leverage for our own export trade. We shall be extremely unfortunate if, in the post-war world, no country needs our agricultural products at the price we can offer them. With famine staring the world in the face, this is very unlikely to happen. Whether, in consonance with our past trade history, we form part of the British Commonwealth economic group or whether, through choice or necessity, we drift into some other group or stand aloof in cold isolation, there is likely to be a keen demand for our exports for some time to come.

But conditions will be changing rapidly; world-trade groups will be crystallising in the immediate post-war years, and once the mould is set it will not be easy to break in. We must be very careful that we do not, through any mismanagement, allow the price of our products to rise above the world level. To keep within this level we shall need not merely good and efficient production but also first-class marketing. All unnecessary distribution costs must be cut out. If our prices should, through mismanagement or inefficiency or industrial strife, rise above the world level during these critical post-war years, during which future trade attachments will be created, we will most certainly be forced out of the flowing current of international trade into the backwater of stagnation. Let farmers, industrialists and labour look to it that we hold our place. We cannot do so if idleness and inefficiency are subsidised by the dole and the protection of inefficient native industries or by the toleration of a too expensive system of distribution. It will be one of the chief tasks of our new government to ensure that the conditions are right for our future struggle for our place in international trade. We enter on that struggle with the inestimable advantage of having escaped the devastation of war. We start with a handicap in our favour as we have no shift-back from a war economy to impede us in our start.

F. C. KING

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part VI

FERRIS, RICHARD, ecclesiastic and secret agent. Born in 1750 at Ballymalis, Tralee, Co. Kerry. Son of Daniel Ferris, he was educated at the Irish College in Paris, was ordained a priest, and had a distinguished academic course in the university of the French capital, where he became a doctor of canon and civil law. In 1777 he was appointed chief administrator and provost of the Collège de Montaigue, one of the royal colleges of the university of Paris, while at the same time he was Inspector-General of the diocese of Amiens and chaplain to the king of France. On refusing to take the oath to the Civil Constitution of the clergy in 1791 after the outbreak of the Revolution, he ceased to hold these appointments. Leaving France, he joined the remnants of the Irish Brigade that were faithful to the monarchy and were gathering round the princes beyond the frontier. Becoming a captain in Berwick's Irish regiment and aide-de-camp of the Duke its commander, he served in the disastrous campaign of 1792 when the invaders of France were driven from her soil by the troops of the Republic.

Having left the army, Ferris began early in 1793 an extraordinary career of intrigue and duplicity, posing simultaneously as a secret agent for France and England at a time when both countries were at war with each other. Thus in October 1793, after insinuating himself into the confidence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, he proposes to him that he should go to England and from there keep the French government informed of the state and movements of the English army and navy. One thousand pounds were placed at his disposal and, on arriving in London, he got into immediate touch with the English Secretary of State, informed him of his mission and presented him with the cipher code in which secret correspondence was carried on with the French government. There is a considerable number of his letters in the archives of the French Foreign Office and of the English Public Record Office for the years during which he played a perilous game and drew a considerable amount of money from the governments of both countries. In 1799 the French government seem to have suspected his " bona-fides." In April of that year he was arrested in Paris on a charge of espionage, but he was released after a few weeks' detention.

Ferris eventually settled in the French capital, and in 1808 became a member of the Board set up by Napoleon to administer the affairs of the Irish College. After some time he began intriguing to become superior not only of the Irish College but of the combined English, Scottish and Irish colleges in Paris. In 1813 he succeeded in his object. The Irish bishops, however, feeling strongly that a married priest (which Ferris had become) was unsuitable for the office, protested against his appointment, and Dr. Paul Long, who had been *curé* in the diocese of Laon in France, was sent from Dublin to take the place of Ferris. A continuous series of unseemly squabbles followed, and during the Hundred Days Ferris was reinstated. But, after the entry of the Allies into Paris, Dr. Long was re-appointed and held the office till his retirement in 1819, when his rival was once more restored. A quarrel between Hely d'Oissel, Minister of Public Instruction, and Ferris led, however, to the latter's permanent removal from the functions of superior.

In addition to his duties at the Irish College, Ferris was engaged in other activities. In 1815 an international commission of French and English representatives was set up to receive and register claims regarding the losses sustained by British subjects resident in France during the Revolution. In 1818 a sum of seven hundred million francs was advanced by the French government in settlement of these claims. Ferris, who had qualified as a lawyer, took a prominent part in the work of the commission, in which he showed much ability and out of which he made large profits for himself. In 1819 he retired to his country house at Soissons, where he died in 1828. An able, ambitious, unscrupulous man, he amassed a considerable fortune through more than doubtful means, and after his death his relatives in Ireland claimed his property on the ground that his son was illegitimate and that his grandchildren accordingly had no legal claim to it. He was author of a brochure entitled " Etat actuel des établissements et collèges britanniques conservés en France et dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens."

FIACRE, SAINT, missionary. He was one of that immense number of Irish *peregrini* in the sixth and seventh centuries who, moved by religious zeal, crossed to the continent of Europe. Early in the seventh century he came to Meaux in the Neustrian kingdom, where he presented himself to the bishop of the see, who gave him at Breuil a site where he built a monastery and a guest house for foreign travellers. Breuil is the present village of St. Fiacre. In his hermitage the Irish saint observed the austere rules of the monks of his native country, and was much venerated after his death. In the thirteenth century Saint Louis, king of France, built a chapel in his honour at Saint Germain-en-Laye, and in 1641 Anne of Austria attributed to Fiacre's intercession the recovery of Louis XIII who was then seriously ill at Lyons. In thanksgiving she made a

periodical pilgrimage on foot to Breuil. Fêtes in his honour are held annually on 30 August at St. Cloud and other Paris suburbs. He is still venerated as the patron saint of gardeners throughout France, while a street in Paris still bears his name. Hired carriages that used to ply from the hotel Saint-Fiacre in the Rue St. Martin in Paris to his shrine came in time to be known as "fiacres," by which a new word was added to the French language. The Irish saint died at Breuil in 670.

FINN (O'FINN), EDWARD, soldier and United Irishman. Born at Cork in 1767. His name having appeared in the outlawry list in Ireland in 1798, he escaped to Bordeaux. Entering the French army, he ultimately rose to be colonel in the regiment of the " Lanciers de Bergh." After the Peace of Amiens he returned in 1802 for a short period to Bordeaux, where he engaged in the business of a merchant. From there he wrote in September 1803 to General Augereau, commander-in-chief in Finisterre of the French army of liberation destined for Ireland, giving an account of affairs in his native country and urging the necessity of the expedition. He stated, too, that the renewal of the war between France and England compelled him to give up his business and return to military life. He fought gallantly with his old regiment during the Peninsular war and was killed, in October 1810, in defending the bridge of Azava in Spain, where his valour was so striking that it was specially mentioned in Wellington's despatches. On the occasion the regiment, of which he was in command, was surrounded by a large English force which made every effort to induce it to surrender. Finn, however, refused to do so, and the British were, in their own defence, compelled to cut him down. When he fell, he addressed them with the words—" I am satisfied. Remember I am an Irishman and my name is O'Finn "—and almost immediately died. His body was buried by Colonel O'Donovan, an Irishman in the English army, who had been a boyhood friend.

FITZGERALD, BODKIN DE, law official. He belonged to a Cork branch of the Fitzgerald family which, zealously attached to the Stuarts, followed James II to France. He was brother-in-law of M. Cabarrus, the famous French banker in Spain who was father of the notorious Madame Tallien —she became known during the Revolution as " Notre-Dame de Thermidor." In July 1785 Fitzgerald was appointed a counsellor at Paris to the " Chambre des Enquêtes " (third chamber of the Parliament). In the sharp struggle in 1787 and 1788 between the king and the parliament, when the counsellors of the latter refused to merely register the royal edicts without discussing them, Fitzgerald took a prominent part and denounced Lomenie de Brienne (archbishop of Sens), the controller-general of the finances.

FITZGERALD, LORD EDWARD, soldier and United Irishman. Born 1763. He spent a considerable part of his boyhood in France where his

uncle, the Duke of Richmond, had a château at Aubigny. He probably imbibed there the sentimental love of France which later characterised him—" you and I," he wrote to his mother from Paris in the midst of the ferment of the Revolution, " had always a proper liking for the true French character." As early as 1792 his sister wrote of Lord Edward that he was entirely engrossed by French affairs; in the same year he was a leading figure at the famous meeting at Paris of English-speaking sympathisers with the Revolution, and at a banquet in the evening he proposed " the abolition of hereditary titles " as a toast. While in the French capital he became a member of the Jacobin club, where he met many of the popular leaders. All the masonic clubs of France were then revolutionary centres and Lord Edward, who was initiated a member, had many interviews with the Duke of Orleans (Philippe Egalité), the king's brother, who was then grandmaster of the French masonic order. At this time, too, he became intimate with Talleyrand.

According to a document in the archives of the French Foreign Office, Lord Edward had come to France for a very specific object. " At the end of 1792," it states, " an Irishman of considerable eminence (whose name is on the margin) came to Paris for the sole purpose of seeing Paine (Thomas) in order to tell him that, if enough money could be given to keep 40,000 Volunteers in Ireland (who now assemble ordinarily for one day only) going for three months, a revolution there would be certain." It was this proposal which induced the French foreign minister to send Colonel Oswald on a secret mission to Ireland in 1793. From Paris at this time Lord Edward wrote to his mother: " In the coffee-houses and play-houses every man calls the other " camarade," " frère," and with a stranger immediately begins: " 'Ah! nous sommes tous frères, tous hommes, nos victoires sont pour tous, pour tout le monde.'" In December 1792 he was married to Pamela, daughter of Madame de Genlis and Philippe Egalité. The ceremony took place on the 28th of the month at Tournai, the headquarters of General O'Moran, and that gallant officer of the Revolutionary army (who was guillotined a year later) was, with Louis Philippe the future king of France, a signatory of the marriage. Immediately afterwards Lord Edward returned with his wife to Ireland, where he was active as a leader of the movement for independence up to his tragic death in May 1798.

FITZGERALD, GERARD, professor of medicine. Born at Limerick in the last decade of the seventeenth century, he went to France for his education. At the university of Montpellier he obtained his doctorate in medicine in 1719 after a distinguished academic course. In March 1732, on the death of Pierre Chivrac the famous French physician, he was appointed to the professorship of medicine at Montpellier. Among is published works there were (1) " Dissertatio de Catameniis " (1731),

(2) " Dissertatio de Visu " (1741), (3) " Dissertatio de Carie Ossium " (1742), while his special lectures on female maladies were published in Latin under the title of " Tractatus pathologicus de Affectibus Feminarum praeternaturalibus " (Paris 1754), of which a French translation appeared at Avignon in 1758. He died at Montpellier in the year 1748.

FITZGERALD, JAMES, soldier. He belonged to a branch of the Geraldine family settled in Waterford, in which city his grandfather, Edward Fitzgerald, was known as " the Roman merchant." As a young man James entered Dillon's Irish regiment in France in 1730, and in that corps went through the German campaign with the French army, being present at the siege of Kehl in 1733 and that of Philipsburg in 1734. With the rank of captain he fought at Dettingen in 1743, and in the following year obtained a company in Lally's Irish regiment. At its head he fought gallantly at Fontenoy in 1745, where his regiment, turning the tide of battle, helped pre-eminently to achieve the great victory, and where he received a colonel's brevet on the field for his distinguished conduct. In 1747 he was at Lauffelt, but escaped the holocaust of his countrymen there; and in the same year he took part in the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. In 1757, though nominated to accompany his chief, General Thomas Lally, to India, he did not do so and was transferred to Clare's regiment. A close friendship existed between him and his fellow-countryman, the gallant Colonel Richard Warren (*See* WARREN)—the latter's correspondence, published some years ago, contains many of the affectionate and amusing letters that passed between these great Irish soldiers. After taking part in the German campaigns of 1760 and 1761, he was, on the death of young Charles O'Brien the seventh Viscount Clare in the latter year, appointed colonel of Clare's regiment. Soon after the termination of The Seven Years' War he retired from active service and died on 9 February 1773. A contemporary described him as " a man of strict honour and integrity who passed away beloved and lamented."

It is interesting to note that Fitzgerald possessed a good knowledge of the Irish language. He took part, as has been stated above, in the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747. During the long investment of that town, he went for a long walk in the country about it on a day that he was free from military duty. He composed during the walk a long nostalgic poem celebrating the natural beauties of Ireland. There is a copy of the poem in the Royal Irish Academy (23O45), the heading of which is as follows: *Uilleacán dubh O! re Mac Gearuilth ba maoir a n-arm na Fraingce* (*Uilleacán dubh O!* by MacGearailt who was a major in the French army). There is also a copy of the poem in the British Museum MSS. (Egerton 127 —f. 102. b.) This copy has the note: " MacGearailt cecinit. Ba mair a n-arm na Fraince air ngabhail Bergen-op-Soom a mbliaghain 1747."

FITZGERALD, SIR JOHN (CHEVALIER), soldier. Born in 1640. Son of Sir Edmund Fitzgerald, lord of Claonghlais (Clonlish), Co. Limerick, of the great Munster Geraldine house. At the time of his father's death (1666) John Fitzgerald was residing at Nantes in France, which was then one of the continental cities to which young Irishmen went for their education. The Irish poet David O'Bruadair, who enjoyed the patronage and friendship of the Claonghlais house, in an elegy on Sir Edmund's death, hopes that his heir will soon come safely home from the French city. Fourteen years afterwards Sir John was one of the Catholic gentlemen who were arrested and sent to London in connection with the "Popish Plot" of 1680. In the Jacobite war he was lieutenant-colonel of Mountcashel's regiment of infantry and, subsequently, colonel of a foot regiment bearing his own name and largely composed of his own retainers. After the capitulation of Limerick and his attainder in 1691, few of these seem to have accompanied their chief to France—O'Bruadair lampoons them, in a poem of bitter invective, for their failure to do so.

The depleted corps, however, maintained its old name abroad and took part in the Flanders campaign, in which Sir John so distinguished himself at the battle of Landen in 1693 that he received a special mark of honour. This honour seems to have been his appointment to the colonelcy of the regiment of Fitzgerald in 1694. Under Marshal de Catinat he fought till 1696 in the Italian campaign, distinguishing himself again at the siege of Valenza, while in 1697 his activities lay along the Rhine. In the same year the Peace of Ryswick led to many changes in the French army, and among them was the dissolution of the regiment of Limerick and its incorporation in other corps. Few details are available regarding this Irish officer's subsequent career. Those authorities, who state that he was killed at Oudenarde, probably confuse him with Brigadier Nicholas Fitzgerald who was fatally wounded at that battle. (*See* FITZGERALD, NICHOLAS). In this connection it is of some significance that, according to the De La Ponce MSS., a retired officer of the name was admitted into the Hotel des Invalides in 1703, while in the same year the colonelcy of the regiment of Fitzgerald was conferred on Nicholas Fitzgerald.

Sir John Fitzgerald's name came into some prominence in connection with the somewhat mysterious disappearance of the "Book of Lecan" from Trinity College, Dublin, during the Jacobite war in Ireland. For some years after the termination of this war the valuable work was in the possession of various prominent expatriated Irishmen in France, and claims to its ownership led to much acrimony among them till its deposit in the Irish College at Paris. Sir John Fitzgerald seems to have been its first possessor and he was said to have sold it to James Terry the Jacobite genealogist. It has always been difficult to understand how

the valuable codex came into the hands of the former. The following entry in the Register of Trinity College would seem, however, to throw a suggestive sidelight on the question : " September 6 1689. The College was seized on for a garrison by the King's (James) order, and Sir John Fitzgerald took possession of it." How the Royal Irish Academy, through the initiative of Chevalier O'Gorman, acquired possession of the " Book of Lecan " is told in " A Forgotten Irish Antiquary " (*Studies*, Dec. 1941).

FITZGERALD, NICHOLAS, soldier. In the Jacobite war in Ireland he was lieutenant-colonel of the Irish regiment which had Lord Henry FitzJames as its commander. On its arrival in France the corps became the " Regiment de la Marine," and Fitzgerald was appointed its colonel. At its head he went through the war of the League of Augsburg, which ended with the Peace of Ryswick. In the following year (1698) the name of the regiment was changed to that of Albemarle. After the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, he commanded it in Germany in 1701 and in Italy in 1702, where it acquired renown at the battle of Luzzara. In the following year—due probably to the retirement or death of his kinsman Colonel Sir John Fitzgerald—his corps became the Regiment of Fitzgerald. With it he went through the campaign of Flanders, in which he was wounded at the battle of Oudenarde in 1708. He died a few weeks later at Ghent.

FITZGERALD, THOMAS, 5th Earl of Desmond. Soon after becoming the head of his great house, he lost his way while hunting in Kerry and sought refuge at nightfall in one of his clansmen's cottages. He fell in love with Catherine MacCormack the cottager's beautiful daughter and, on their marriage later, his relatives and clansmen rose in revolt against him for bringing discredit on the name of his house. Abandoning title and territory, he left Ireland in 1411 and settled with his wife in Rouen. He died in that city on 10 August 1420, probably from the sufferings he endured during the famous siege. On Saint Lawrence's Day he was buried in the convent of the Friars Minor at Paris, " with great and mighty show " as a Desmond chronicler records, and his funeral was attended by the kings of France and England.

FITZMAURICE, FRANCIS THOMAS, 3rd Lord Kerry. Born in 1740 at Dublin. In 1768 he married Anastasia, the divorced wife of her cousin Charles Daly of Loughrea, Co. Galway. In pre-Revolution days Lord Kerry had a town house and considerable property in Paris. His wife's salon in the Champs Elysées was one of the most brilliant in the French capital at a time when, as Taine says, women were queens of guiding ideas and public opinion. Talleyrand was one of its notable *habitués*. Lord Kerry invested a good deal of his fortune in *assignats ;* but, after

the fall of the monarchy in August 1792, he hurriedly left France. A few days after his departure the authorities placed seals on his papers and effects, while in April 1793, despite his protests, an inventory was made of his furniture. A few months later, in accordance with the official decree sequestrating the property of subjects of countries at war with France, it was sold and realised 150,000 livres. In 1794 two of his servants were arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris on charges of espionage and were guillotined. After his death his heirs, in 1820, received a grant of £145,000 out of the indemnity fund established by the French government to compensate British citizens for losses sustained during the Revolution. He was succeeded in the peerage by his cousin, whose son (the 5th Lord Kerry and 4th Marquis of Lansdowne) married Amelia, grand-daughter of Talleyrand by Madame de Flahaut, a natural daughter of Louis XV.

FITZMAURICE, THOMAS, soldier. Born in 1725 at Duagh, Listowel, Co. Kerry, he became a cadet in his sixteenth year in Rothe's Irish regiment in France. With that corps he fought at Fontenoy, and later went through the Seven Years' War. In 1766 the Rothe regiment became that of Roscommon and later that of Walsh, and in 1779—three years after he was made a chevalier of Saint Louis—Fitzmaurice was a captain in the expeditionary force that, with many Irish officers, sailed from France under Colonel Arthur Dillon to help in the American War of Independence. For his brilliant part in the surprise and capture of the island of St. Eustache in November 1781, the Marquis de Bouille promoted him to the rank of Lieutenant-colonel and appointed him governor of the island. Having returned to France in 1784, he embarked for Cayenne in the following year on a military mission from the Minister of Marine, and later proceeded to Guadeloupe to resume command of his regiment. In 1789 he retired from active service on a pension.

A relative, Thomas MacRobert Fitzmaurice, who was born at Dingle, had also a distinguished military career in France. He entered Rothe's Irish regiment as a cadet in 1729, received the honour of chevalier of Saint Louis in 1760, and retired with the rank of colonel in the regiment of Roscommon. A generation later another Irish kinsman, Captain Fitzmaurice of Dillon's corps, wrote on 8 October 1788 from Calais to the Chevalier O'Gorman, the Irish genealogist, with a request to draw up his family pedigree, which was necessary for the post of " gentilhomme " to the Duke of Orleans that he had just been offered. In his letter to the Chevalier he states ; " My father was John Fitzmaurice, and my grandfather Thomas Fitzmaurice, of Co. Kerry. My mother was from Co. Clare and her family name was Henchy. She was a daughter of Peter Henchy of Fina near Sixmilebridge of the same county, who was a Protestant and possessed very large means. His eldest son, my mother's brother,

married Miss Fitzgibbon, cousin of the attorney-general of the Irish parliament." A partisan of the Revolution, Captain Fitzmaurice remained in France after the dissolution of the Irish Brigade in 1791 and fought for his adopted country during the subsequent campaigns against the allied monarchies.

FLEMING, RICHARD, ecclesiastic. Born in Co. Meath in 1542, he studied the humanities at Oxford (1558-1561) and philosophy at Louvain (1561-1562). He entered the Society of Jesus in 1563 at Rome and continued his studies there till 1567, when he was sent to Dillingen to teach philosophy. In this town he was ordained a priest in 1569. The remainder of his life was devoted to theological lectures in various French universities—in Bordeaux from 1573 to 1578, in Paris (at the Collège de Clermont) from 1577 to 1578, and at Bourges from 1578 to 1583. In the latter year he was transferred to the university of Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine, where he acted as chancellor till his death on 26 August 1590.

Fleming, who was by far the most prominent Irish theologian in the Europe of his time, did much during his years in France to help Irish students and exiles. A very religious man, he was selected to assist the celebrated John Maldonatus (whom he succeeded at the Collège de Clermont) in making a visitation of the French Province of the Society of Jesus in 1578. He was the first to take up the study of the Lives of the Irish Saints, in which work he was followed by fellow-Jesuits like Richard Conway, Henry FitzSimon and Stephen White. These prepared the way for the subsequent studies of the Irish Franciscans at Louvain and of the Jesuit Bollandists. Fleming has been described as a man " of great eloquence, courage, tact and temper," who was much devoted in France to the religious interests of his persecuted native country.

FLOOD, PETER, ecclesiastic. Born in Longford and educated at Paris where he obtained the doctorate of divinity at the Sorbonne. In 1782 he was appointed superior of the Collège des Lombards, and in 1788 became royal professor of theology at the Collège de Navarre. He was described as " the first scripturist and casuist in France." As well as professor at the Collège de Navarre he was also its administrator, and after the outbreak of the Revolution he furnished, on the 1 July 1791, a detailed account of its revenues to the National Assembly in obedience to a governmental decree. Refusing to take the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1791, he was deprived of his academic position as professor in 1792. During the September massacres of the latter year in Paris he, with another Irish priest, Father Corboy, nearly lost their lives. The *Moniteur*, the governmental newspaper of the day, describing the incident in which two municipal officials rescued them from an armed band of sans-culottes, states :—

" On the 5th of Sepember MM. Guirant and Hennisart were admitted to the bar of the National Assembly. M. Guirant presented to the Assembly another victim saved from the vengance of an armed mob. This citizen was an Irish priest named Flood, administrator of the college at Boncour ; he was very nearly included among the refractory priests who, like him, were attached to that college. M. Guirant, in the name of the Law and at the voice of innocence, succeeded in rescuing him. M. Flood now requests the Assembly to grant him the means by which he may return to his native land. The Assembly ordered that he should be placed under the protection of the French nation." Soon after this trying experience Dr. Flood got facilities to return to Ireland, where he was appointed parish priest of Edgeworthstown in his native county. In 1798 he became president and professor of theology of Maynooth college, and died there on 26 January 1803. A letter in the English P.R.O. from Lord Castlereagh (dated 30 August 1799) describes him as " a very worthy and respectable man, and a zealous supporter of the great measure in contemplation (*i.e.*, the Union)."

FLYNN, DAVID, ecclesiastic. Born in Co. Galway and educated at Paris, where he became a graduate of the Sorbonne. Later he was appointed chaplain to James III at Saint Germain-en-Laye and, having died in that town on 17 August 1770, was buried in the crypt of the parish church there. At his funeral two nephews were present—Dr. Charles O'Flynn and Father Jean Evrines. The latter, who was rector of the " hôpital général " at Saint Germain, presented to this hospital in 1778 a capital sum of money whose revenue was to be employed to maintain two poor orphans from the age of five to twenty.

Several members of the family, whose ancient patrimony extended from Roscommon into Galway, were attainted after the Jacobite war in Ireland. Emigrating to France, they became officers of the Irish Brigade. In a reference to the family in his " Irish Dictionary," published in Paris in 1768, John O'Brien states : " The O'Flynns' present chief is Edmond O'Flinn of Ballinlough. The Right Hon. Lady Ellen O'Flinn, Countess de la Hues of Lahnes Castle in Normandy, is of the same direct branch of the O'Flinns, her ladyship being daughter of Timothy O'Flinn of Clydagh in Co. Roscommon."

FOGARTY (O'FOGARTY). MALACHY, ecclesiastic. Son of Timothy (Teigue) Fogarty, Castle Fogarty, Fittemore, Co. Tipperary, who married Margaret Burke, Ballycurry, Co. Tipperary (of the family of Lord Brittas). Educated in Paris, he graduated as doctor in theology of the Sorbonne and in 1705 became prefect of the Collège des Lombards in the French capital. Four years previously—in 1701—he had been Procurator of the German nation (of which Ireland formed part) in the university of Paris. His name frequently appears in the records of Saint Germain-

en-Laye as god-father at the baptism of the children of officers of the Irish Brigade during the first decade of the eighteenth century.

FURSA, missionary saint. Leaving Ireland for France in the year 644, he proceeded to the court of Clovis, king of Neustria, where he was granted a site for a monastery at Lagny, six miles north of Paris. This place and St. Riquier near Peronne in Picardy were the scenes of his missionary work for many years. While on the journey home to Ireland, St. Fursa died on 16 January 650 at the village of Macerias (now Frohen) in northern Gaul. He was buried at Peronne, and beside his tomb his relatives and countrymen founded a monastery which for over a century had Irishmen for abbots and which accordingly received the name of " Perrona Scottorum." Like Luxeuil it became a noted centre of religion and learning, to which the Frankish nobility sent their children. St. Fursa had a profound influence on the intellectual and religious movements of his own and later times. His vision of the other world became known beyond France—Sir Francis Palgrave writes in his *History of Normandy and England :* " we have no difficulty in deducing the poetic genealogy of Dante's *Inferno* from the Milesian Fursaeus."

GALWEY, HENRY (MARQUIS DE TURBILLY), soldier and agriculturist. In the later half of the eighteenth century he was the chief representative in France of the Co. Cork Jacobite family of which several members, on the confiscation of their estates during the Williamite regime in Ireland, settled in various French towns. The grandfather of the marquis settled in the neighbourhood of Nantes, and each generation of his family became famous throughout Brittany for their skill and enterprise as agriculturists. The marquis served for some time in Walsh's Irish regiment, and Arthur Young in *Travels in France* describes a visit he paid him at Turbilly near Nantes in 1786. In that city other members of the family had settled as merchants—in its municipal archives for the year 1756 M. Galwey is described as " a merchant in the town for twenty-five years ". In the next generation, when revolutionary France was threatened by a coalition of European monarchies, Danton's call to arms was answered at Nantes by the formation of sixteen battalions of citizen soldiers, of which James Galwey was an officer. Another branch of the family was established at Bordeaux where Richard Galwey, who was born in Cork in 1738, engaged in commerce and where, after the Revolution, he and Michael Galwey, who was a physician in the armies of the Republic, were granted the rights of French citizenship. Count de Galwey, the present representative of the family, ranks among the French nobility.

GANNON, MICHAEL, ecclesiastic. A native of Louisburgh, Co. Mayo, he received his education at the Irish College at Paris, where he pursued a distinguished course of study. After ordination as a priest he became chaplain to the Duke of Crillon. With the troubles of the Revolution

the Duke left France, and Father Gannon returned to Ireland where he functioned as a priest in his native country. His experiences in France did not prevent him from becoming a supporter of the republican movement at home and, when General Humbert landed at Killala with a small French force in August 1798, Father Gannon co-operated enthusiastically with him. During the occupation of Castlebar, he showed much energy as commissary to the little allied French and Irish army and, with his perfect knowledge of French, was of much use as an interpreter. An eloquent speaker, he frequently addressed the crowds in the streets, urging them to join the army of independence. He was in hiding, with a price on his head, for a year after the Insurrection, and in November 1799 was arrested and transported.

Escaped from captivity, Father Gannon arrived at Lisbon in a vessel bound for that city. From there he wrote to Lucien Bonaparte, French ambassador at Madrid, who invited him to the Spanish capital. After remaining there for a short time, he went to Paris and was appointed parish priest of a village near Saint Germain-en-Laye. In 1814, after the Bourbon restoration, he was transferred to a parish near Tours, a city which then contained a large colony of Irishmen. In 1815 he was appointed almoner to the army at Lille, where he died soon afterwards. Father Gannon was described as " a tall, handsome man, with dignified agreeable manners, whose appearance commanded respect."

GARVAN, CALLAGHAN, physician. On October 24, 1701, he was sworn in as medical attendant to the royal household at Saint Germain-en-Laye, and later was appointed physician-in-ordinary to James III and chief physician to Queen Mary of Modena. He was married to Martha O'Meara at Saint Germain, whose registers record the births of several of their children. He died in that town on 14 January 1735 in his ninety-second year.

GAYDON, JOHN (JEAN DE GAYDON), soldier. Born in 1659, he was the son of Patrick Gaydon of Irishtown, Co. Kildare, whose family lost its estates during the Cromwellian and Williamite confiscations. After serving as captain in Sarsfield's regiment of horse through the Jacobite war in Ireland, he accompanied the Irish army to France as a cornet in the " Gardes du Corps." In that country he went through the campaigns in Normandy, Flanders and on the Moselle till the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, after which he was promoted to the rank of " mestre-de-camp " in Sheldon's Irish regiment. As such he fought in most of the great battles of the War of the Spanish Succession between 1702 and 1713—Luzzara, Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, etc. In 1711 he gained particular distinction at the surprise and defeat of the enemy near Bouchain. He died on 11 September 1721 while on active service with the Army of the Meuse.

GAYDON, RICHARD (CHEVALIER), soldier. Younger brother of preceding. Entering the French service, he went, as captain in Dillon's regiment, through the campaigns in Savoy and Piedmont in the last decade of the seventeenth century and, like his brother, fought in the War of the Spanish Succession. His gallant military record in the latter brought him the honour of Knighthood of Saint Louis. In the year 1719, when France was at peace, Dillon's regiment lay in garrison at Scelestat near Strasbourg, and among its officers were Richard Gaydon, holding the rank of major, Captain Luke O'Toole and Captain John Misset. These three Irish soldiers, who were cousins, were selected by their relative Sir Charles Wogan to assist him in the perilous enterprise of rescuing the Princess Clementina from her confinement at Innsbruck in the Tyrol. The story of their thrilling adventures is well known, and several accounts of it were written at the time. One of these, dated at Bologna on 9 May 1719, was written by Gaydon for Cardinal Gualterio, with whose letters and manuscripts in the British Museum it is preserved. On their arrival at Rome after their successful mission, Wogan and his fellow-cavaliers were welcomed by the Pope, and the Senate of that city conferred on them the highest civic honour in its power, viz., that of admission into its own body. James III conferred a knighthood on Gaydon, and on his return to his old regiment he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He died in the year 1745. The famous Kildare family, to which he belonged, is long extinct.

GEOFFREY OF WATERFORD (GOTOFRIDUS DE WATERFORDIA), ecclesiastic. Born at Waterford early in the thirteenth century, he became a Dominican friar. He travelled much in the east and acquired a perfect knowledge of Arabic, while he was also a profound Greek and Latin scholar. He settled in Paris, where he spent his life and where he translated into French several classics of the languages mentioned. Among the works translated by him were some of Eutropius and Dares Phrygius, as well as a treatise entitled *Secretum Secretorum*, wrongly ascribed to Aristotle. To the translations he added interesting and valuable comments and criticisms. He has been described as an outstanding figure of his time, and his style, it has been said, is distinguished by vigour and conciseness. In a preface to his Arabic work he calls himself " Frère Joffroi de l'ordene az Frères Prêcheurs," and refers to the French nobleman who was his patron as follows : " To a man valiant, wise and noble, Joffroi of Waterford, least of the Order of Friars Preachers, wisheth health in Jesus Christ and strength both of body and mind . . . . whereas, sometimes you provide yourself with arms and other implements necessary for war, sometimes you entertain yourself in reading books ; wherefore to other good books, which you already have, you desire to add the *Secretum Secretorum*, and for this end you have requested me that I should for your sake translate

the said work from Latin into French, which I have already translated from Greek into Arabic and again from Arabic into Latin ; being overcome by your entreaties, I have taken care to fulfil this task . . . . " His treatises in vellum, written in thirteenth-century French in small folio, are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

GERNON, RICHARD, merchant. First representative in France of the old Irish family of the name settled in Co. Louth, eleven branches of which were included in the outlawries of 1691 on account of their Jacobite loyalty. He was son of Christopher Gernon of Drogheda and settled at Bordeaux in France, where his descendants became wealthy merchants. (Lart, in the " Pedigrees and Papers " of James Terry, states that Thomas Williamson of Ardfraigh, Co. Galway, was attainted during the Cromwellian régime and became a merchant at Bordeaux, where he married Suzanne Gernon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century). Richard Gernon was, by command of Louis XV, invested at Bordeaux with the honorary title of King's secretary. He died there in 1770 and left issue by his wife, Mary Quody of Cullen, Co. Meath : (1) Christopher, ancestor of the Gernons of Paris ; (2) John, chevalier of the Order of Saint Louis and captain in Lally's Irish regiment, who died in 1813 ; (3) Mary, who married Chevalier John O'Byrne, the owner of extensive vineyards in the vicinity of Bordeaux at Macon and La Hourangue.

GIBBONS, JOHN, United Irishman and soldier. Son of Edmund Gibbons of Drummin, Co. Mayo, he was a landed proprietor and treasurer of the United Irish Organisation in western Ireland. He took a leading part in the Rising in his native county after the landing of the French expeditionary force at Killala in August 1798. Declared an outlaw and captured by the English authorities in November 1799, he escaped to Nantes. He joined the Irish Legion in the French service with the rank of lieutenant and awaited hopefully the sailing of a new expeditionary force to Ireland. For several years after the collapse of the western insurrection in 1798 the remnants of the United Irishmen in Mayo looked forward to his return with French aid. The poet Raftery reflects popular hopes in some of his verses in the Irish language—an English translation of one of them runs :—

> Ah, Johnny Gibbons, my five hundred healths to you,
> You are long away from me in Germany ;
> Your heart without guile was always joyous,
> And now on the hills we are weak of help.

John Gibbons died at Antwerp in 1808. His son Edmund, who was also an officer of the Irish Legion, went through several campaigns in the Napoleonic war, was wounded at the siege of Flushing in 1809 and died at Boulogne in the same year. Another son, John (" Johnny the outlaw "), was hanged at Westport, Co. Mayo, for his participation in the Rising in 1798.

GIRALDIN, RAYMOND, merchant. A native of Waterford, he belonged to a branch of the Fitzgerald family of Gurteen, Co. Kilkenny, which was related to the great house of Desmond. Dispossessed of his property and banished during the Cromwellian period, he was the first of the family to settle at Saint Malo, where he died on 16 December 1657. From his marriage with Helene Lincoln of Waterford descended various branches of the Giraldin family in France, some of whose representatives (*e.g.* the Counts de Lapenti, de Symphorien and de Corsine) were admitted into the ranks of the nobility of that country. During the Cromwellian period another member of the family, Nicholas Giraldin, a Waterford merchant, was also banished and settled at Saint Malo. On 19 April 1661, after the restoration of Charles II, he with seven other expatriated merchants of Waterford petitioned, from the French seaport, to be allowed to return to Ireland, but no answer was given to their appeal. (Carte Papers, Vol. XXXIII). Nicholas died at Saint Malo on 30 January 1698, and two years later his son and namesake was ennobled by James II.

Members of various Giraldin families were prominent among the Irish corsairs of Saint Malo between 1680 and 1730. Thus in 1692 Tobie (Theobald) Giraldin of that town received a commission for command of a privateer, and in 1695 Richard Giraldin got a similar appointment there. In May 1705 the " noblesse " of the former, described as belonging to " the old and gentle family of Giraldin of Gurteen, Co. Kilkenny," was declared by James III.

The communal registers of Nantes show that some of the name were also established in that city. On 19 August 1656, for example, Catherine, daughter of Eneanor Giraldin and Philip O'Sullivan Beare, was baptised there in the church of St. Similien. And an entry like the following in the Stuart MSS. (vol. I) shows that others had settled in the French colonies in the West Indies : " 1707, Dec. 10. St. Germains. It having been represented (to James III) by Claude Francois Girardin, sieur of Mont Gerald, counsellor of the sovereign council of Martinique, that he is descended from the old family of the Giraldins of Ireland . . . and that the branch from which he descends is the same as that from which M. de Vauvray, Intendant at Toulon, and his brother, the late Marquis de Lery who served in Ireland under our late father, descend, he (James III) certifies that the said family of Giraldins is very old and noble."

GLACAN (O'GLACAN), NEIL, physician. He was born in Donegal *circa* 1600 and, after a preliminary education at home, he went to France, where he pursued a course of studies in the university of Toulouse and became in 1629 professor of Physic in its medical school. Soon afterwards he was appointed physician and privy councillor to Louis XIII of France. During his residence at Toulouse the plague began to rage in that city and its neighbourhood, and Glacan as physician in its principal hospital

heroically combatted the ravages of the epidemic. In 1629 he wrote *Tractatus de peste*, in the preface to which he refers to the fame of Ireland for learning in ancient times. Among the physicians of France he was known as Nellanus Glacanus, and acquired there a high repute for skill and knowledge. In 1646 he removed to Bologna, where he lectured and published *Cursus Medicus* in thirteen volumes in 1655. The high opinion of him held by his contemporaries is reflected in a long eulogistic poem in his honour composed by Peter von Adrian Brocke, professor of Eloquence at Lucca, and which begins: "Hoc Glacan nostra Glacan celeberrimus arte." In 1648 Glacan collaborated with the bishop of Ferns and Sir Nicholas Plunket in the production of a series of laudatory poems in Latin addressed to the Pope ("Regni Hiberniae ad sanctissimum Innocentem X"), the preface to which was written by the great Irish physician.

GLASCOE (GLASCOCK), NICHOLAS, soldier. Born at Saint Germain-en-Laye in 1715, he was son of Christian Glascoe (a captain in the Irish forces which went to France after the capitulation of Limerick in 1691). Entering Dillon's regiment, he held the rank of lieutenant in that corps at the battle of Fontenoy, where his knee was pierced by a bullet and his leg fractured. (A relative, Major Glascoe, an officer of Lally's regiment, was wounded at the same battle). He was one of the group of Irish officers who went to Scotland in 1745 to support Prince Charles Edward. Among other exploits there he carried out on 20 March 1746 a brilliant march to Keith, where in the early morning he surprised and made prisoners of the entire garrison. After Culloden he was captured and sent to London and was kept in irons for ten months. At his trial later he claimed to be a French officer. One witness swore that he heard him speak "an Irish sort of English," while another witness stated in his favour that in Dillon's corps, to which Glascoe belonged, it was the regimental custom for all officers to learn English. (In the earlier decades of the eighteenth century three languages, Irish, English and French, seem to have been spoken in the various regiments of the Irish Brigade in France. Captain Dillon of Lee's regiment used to say that in his time two-thirds of its soldiers spoke only Irish). After his trial Glascoe was permitted to return to France, where he resumed his military career in O'Gilvy's Scottish regiment. A kinsman of his in the French service, Sir Christopher Glascoe, knight of Saint Louis, is mentioned in 1746 by the Irish historian, Walter Harris, as one of his literary correspondents who was engaged in compiling a history of Ireland in the French language.

GLYNN, MARTIN, ecclesiastic. He is described in his "dossier" in the archives of the appeal court of Bordeaux as "born in the diocese of Tuam, Ireland" (his native place is said to have been Boffin) "on the 10 November 1729, the legitimate son of Denis Glynn and Honora Hosty."

He was educated for the priesthood firstly at the Irish seminary of Bordeaux and afterwards at the Jesuit college in the same city. In 1753 he received his degree of master of arts, and was in 1775 appointed superior of the Irish college. When the terrorist régime was inaugurated at Bordeaux during the Revolution, a mob of Jacobins attacked the college in October 1793, and later the institution was occupied by the revolutionary authorities and the students placed under arrest. After some time, however, they were released and sent home to Ireland, but the abbé Glynn remained in the city. He had previously refused to take the oath to the Civil Constitution of the clergy and, as a result, received a deportation order. In July 1794 he was discovered celebrating Mass in a private house and was handed over to the military tribunal of the city. After a perfunctory trial judgment was pronounced to the effect that " as Glynn, the non-conforming priest, has tried to escape the law of deportation and must be ranked as an aristocrat and enemy of the Revolution, it is ordered that the death sentence be carried out in his case." Guillotined on 20 July 1794, he was the last rector of the Irish College at Bordeaux.

Gould, Thomas, ecclesiastic. He was born at Cork in 1657 and, at the age of twenty-one, went to France where he was educated at the Irish Jesuit college of Poitiers. After ordination as a priest he was sent to Thouars in La Vendée for evangelistic work among its protestant population. His mission was so successful that Louis XIV conferred on him a pension and the abbacy of St. Laon. He acquired much fame both as a preacher and as a polemical writer. Among his published works are: (1) *Abrégé des psaumes de David*; (2) *Entretiens où l'on explique la doctrine de l'Église catholique par la Sainte-Ecriture* (Paris 1727); (3) *Les preuves de la doctrine de l'Eglise fondée sur l'Écriture-Sainte* (Paris 1720); (4) *La véritable croyance de l'Église catholique* (Paris 1713). The last-named work, which treats the question of the validity of Anglican orders and went through several editions, was highly praised by the abbé Renaudot. This distinguished Irish ecclesiastic died at Poitiers in 1734.

Grace, John, soldier. Born in 1734 at Gracefield in Ossory, he was the son of Oliver Grace and Mary Dowell of Mantua, Co. Roscommon. Educated at Douai, he entered the Austrian army, became captain in the Wirtenberg Dragoons and acquired the reputation of a brave, humane and generous soldier. When Marie Antoinette left Vienna for France in 1770 on the occasion of her marriage with Louis XVI, Captain Grace was chosen as one of the guard of honour to attend her. The further honour was conferred on him of being the nightly sentinel at her Majesty's door during the journey. After some years he retired from the army and returned to Ireland, where he was the first Catholic called to the grand jury of the Co. Roscommon during the penal days. He has been

described as " a gentleman of polished manners who spoke nine languages." He died on 25 April 1811.

Several of his kinsmen were officers in various regiments of the Irish Brigade in France till its dissolution in 1792; while another relative, Robert Grace, son of John, Baron of Courtstown, was a captain in the French naval service, from which he resigned on inheriting some of the family estates at home. Dying in 1764, he was the last of the Courtstown line of the family.

Grace, Thomas Francis, soldier and writer. Born in 1714. He was son of Oliver Grace, captain in Clare's Irish regiment, and served for some time in his father's corps. Lacking a taste for military life, he left the army and settled in Paris where he established a private school. He formed the acquaintance of Freret the illustrious French savant who, entertaining a high opinion of his merits, obtained for him the post of assistant-secretary to the " Académie des Inscriptions," while he also filled the office of royal censor. He devoted his leisure to botanical studies, was editor for many years of the *Gazette d'Agriculture*, and in 1754 gave the result of his botanical observations in the *Almanach du bon Jardinier*. With the changes of the Revolution he forfeited his official appointments and, losing his eyesight as well, was in much want till two of his former pupils, who became successively Ministers of the Interior, procured him a pension. He died at Paris on 29 December 1799 in his eighty-fifth year. Among his published works are: (1) " École d'Agriculture pratique suivant les principes de M. Sarcey de Sutières " (Paris 1770); (2) " Une nouvelle édition de l'Introduction à l'Histoire générale de l'Univers " (Paris 1753-1759. 8 tomes); (3) " Les principes généraux de la Langue francaise " (Paris 1789).

Grant, James, soldier and engineer. His family was one of several of the name residing in the barony of Iverk, Co. Kilkenny, and was attainted during the Williamite régime. Entering the French army, he became a lieutenant in Lally's regiment and took part in the battle of Fontenoy. As well as a soldier he was also an expert engineer and an able mathematician, and was for many years associated with Cassini, the illustrious French astronomer, in the observatory at Paris. After Fontenoy he went to Scotland to help Prince Charles Edward, and distinguished himself both as a soldier and engineer in that country. Prince Charles Edward conferred on him the title of " Baron d'Iverque " after his native barony in Ireland. On his return to France from Scotland he published at Paris an elaborate map of the British Isles and the French coast, which traced the various marches of the Jacobite army in the Highlands and in England, and also marked the different sieges and battles of the campaign. It is signed as follows: " Dressée et presentée à Son Altesse Royale par son très humble et très obéissant Serviteur, J. A. Grante, Baron d'Iverque et Colonel de l'Artillerie du Prince en Ecosse."

Richard Hayes

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LXVI

SADHBH IS OUR HOPE

To Sadhbh (+1373) daughter of Ó Conchobhair (.i. Cathal Óg +1324, son of Domhnall) and of a lady, Ailbhe, whose family name is nowhere given. Sadhbh was twice married, firstly to Flaithbheartach Ó Ruairc +1349, and subsequently to Niall Mag Shamhradhain +1362. The stanzas 39-40 suggest—but do not prove—that the poem was written during the period of her second marriage.

. . . MAC TAIDHG MAC CRAITH cc

1. Bean a-nois chabhras chrích Meadhbha,
maith dá furtacht feidhm na mná;
díon ó gCuinn cabhair ó Meadhbha
ar chanaidh fhuinn Teamhra tá.

2. Inghean Í Chonchubhair chabhras
cóigeadh Meadhbha—is maith dá tháth;
an tsíon bhalbh ag brath na Sadhbha
Sadhbh dá rath go gcabhra chách.

3. Ní bean eile acht inghean Chathail
chabhras dá feidhm fód a sean;
éad le cách im ghnaoi do-ghéabha
ar mnaoi Ráth ní bhéara bean.

4. Ní bhia triath gan teacht dá bruidhin,
ní bhia bean gan bheith n-a ráith,
ní bhí teagh na mná gan mhuirear
gé tá an bhean ag cuireadh cháich.

5. A-tá a nós—is ní dhá diadhacht—
ag díon bhan 's ag bádhudh locht;
a-tá bladh is bhíogh a guidhe
ag díon na mban uile ar olc.

6. Do-gheibh chlú, gi cúich nach faghaibh
nach [fearr] bean 's a beith ós chách;
fuair dhíon ar choiribh na colla
a ndíol d'oiribh troma [a] tráth.

7. Nós a féile is fada ráinig
ríoghan mhaordha Mhaighe hAoi;
fada soir ro feas a feabhas
im muir theas gheabhas re gnaoi.

8. Clú na ríogh ní ragha dhise
dul dá teisd má tá ar gach rígh;
geall is gach mhodh ag maith Shaidhbhe
re ndol do sgaith Dairbhre dhíbh.

9. Inghean Chathail Chríche Teamhrach
do [thuair] chlú le gcosain gheall;
beith ós gach fhlaith is lór dhise
mór as mhaith gidh ise as fhearr.

10. Béaraidh mhná is is meinic bheireas
tar bladh cáich gidh cúich nach rug;
rath don mhnaoi mar tá gá thuilliumh
ar gnaoi gach mná is tuilleadh tug.

11. Inghean Í Chonchubhair chaitheas
re clú an rath nach rángas dréim
roinn dá crudh ar chradh nach raibhe
do chur bhan a baile ó bhéim.

12. Neach ar chlú nír cuireadh tairse
an teisd fuair dá bhfaghbhadh neach;
geall ar ghnaoi gibé dhar beanadh
le mnaoi gCé bearar a bhreath.

13. Do-ní rún bha riarfa an Dúileamh
le ndingne a díon diadha an réim;
do-ní gach naomh ní ar a guidhe
mar ro-ní craobh Ruighe a réir.

14. Ní fhuil chléir gan chuid dá hionnmhas,
ní fhuil dáimh nach déan a dtoil,
ar bhfagháil raith do ghéig Gabhra
ní théid tar maith Sadhbha soin.

15. Ar ghnúis gcorcra chraoibhe Bóinne
do-bhéar theisd—gá teisd as fhearr?
"Éad ar mnáibh ma bhreith mar bheire
tre bhreith gcáir do-gheibhe an geall."

16. Tugais ar nós ní ós do thosaigh,
tugais druim re déanamh locht;
ní fhionnfa bean dá mbí it aighidh
[ní ná] meadh bhus ainimh ort.

17. Taitneamh cumhdaigh do chiabh ndíoghainn
dath an fhuilt is amhlaidh bhíos;
ní bhean t'fholt cam as [a] chloidhibh
tocht dá bharr fad throighidh tíos.

18. Tú go cian ó chiontaibh Éabha,
amhghar sibh ar son bhar ngaoil;
ní bhiad dod chlí coire Eabha
ní as ghoire ná a deala dhaoibh.

19. Maith do chlú ó chur red mhaitheas,
maith dá díon gan déanamh n-uilc;
muna díon caithmhighe an chroidhe
t'aithrighe ag díol choire an chuirp.

20. Tusa ós mhnáibh le méad do theasda
mar taoi ar chlú ós chionn gach shluaigh;
ní hé do chradh ní hí t'anáir
dá rabh ní gan fhagháil uaibh.

21. Ar ndáil chruidh do chanaidh Mhuaidhe
tar mná Connacht cuirthear í;
ar ndáil ghreadh seang leis an Saidhbhsin
bean as fhearr n-a haimsir hí.

22. Do-ní mhaith ar mhuinntir nimhe,
do-ní re Dia díol a chréacht;
a dula gan choire ó cheanaibh
oire is lugha i ndeaghaidh déarc.

23. Dá mbeath gan fhear Aoibheall Chunga
do chath Bhréifne ó mbearntar sluaigh
ní fuighthe dhí a díol [do] chéile
acht rí dar fhíor Éire d'fhuaim.

24. Geall einigh gá haigneadh bhanda,
buaidh ndealbha gá dreich mar bhláth,
geall ag Saidhbh ar a son féine,
is dá naidhm dol dá céile ós chách.

25. Dealbhaidh leomhan láimh re dreagan,
dealbhaidh eocha i n-eangaibh sróill,
géis Leamhna gá gcar i [gcorrthair],
ealbha dhamh re n-onchoin óir.

26. Mórthair cliara le crodh Saidhbhe
seachnaidh cionta ón cheird do-ní
d'aithbhear chean gidh créad do-gheabhtha
ní fhéad bean a seachna acht sí.

27. Lúdh go cill do cheannach loghaidh,
lúdh go dáimh—gá doirbhe céim?
lúdh n-a coinne dá mbé ar bhochtaibh
loinne lé rochtain dá réir.

28. Suil bheanaid géaga a glac ndíoghainn
re dlaoithibh fuilt fhleisge Liag
clanna boga n-a céibh chaistigh
foda gan bhéin aistibh iad.

29. Feacaidh thile i dtosach cairbhe,
cuiridh each ag imdheacht raon,
[leanaidh] a beirt bréig a cuma,
nír mhéid neirt acht truma a taobh.

30. Glór gach aoin re hinghin Cathail
do chath Bhanbha ó bhíd n-a purt:
" Neach dan léir gach ainimh fholaigh
ní airigh béim oraibh d'ulc."

31. Teisd gach fhileadh ar th'fholt bhfeactha
fiu na teasda tiocfa dhíot;
gidh bladh fa-deara gidh déarca
ceana ban do fhéadfa a n-íoc.

32. Téighe ar rath tar ríoghnaibh Connacht,
ar chlú dhíot ní dheachaidh sluagh;
téid tar shlógh thar nar dhú dula,
mór do chlú is ní lugha a luadh.

33. A Shadhbh ní hionghar dot anmain
ar fhóir tú dá dtéid a curp;
mná ó phéin tre pheacthaibh marbhtha
beantair ag béin t'anma ó ulc.

34. A inghean Ailbhe fhuinn Bhóinne,
bean bhad theisd ní thiocfa id dhiaidh;
dar lat is duid a-tá a tarbha
cuid gach mná do Bhanbha Bhriain.

35. Do-gheibh rath do réir gach dhuine
Dia dá riar mar ráinig lé;
tar a mbia i n-aghaidh a hanmun
raghaidh le Dia i ndaghbhrugh nDé.

36. [Mór] do rath ós ríoghraidh Bhanbha
biaidh ar chlú ós chionn gach mná;
an rath nar thuil do mhnaoi mhuile
mar mhuir [an] laoi thuile a-tá.

37. Gé rabh uirre uamhan ciontadh
cion n-a leath ní leigfe naomh;
dá maitheadh Dia is dí ná maithfeadh
ní fa ria aithbhear gach aon.

38. Inghean mheic Dhomhnaill Dúin Tuathail
ar thuar chlú do cheannaigh neamh;
dínidh hí d'anáir is d'fhéile
nach bí ag fagháil bhéime an bhean. Bean

39. Lór do chabhair Chóigidh Mheadhbha
Mág Amhragháin—ríodha a ré;
ceannchaid na slóigh síodh ar Néillne
nó gur díon d'fhóir Éirne é.

40. Mág Shamhraghán shireas cheannas
ar chath mBréifne dá mbalbh sreabh
[i] ndáil reann do rath a fhaghla
geall do chath Bhanbha do bhean.
bean

Translation

XIII

1. 'Tis a lady who is saving Meadhbh's land (Connachta); earnestly she works at that task; the saving of the scions of Conn and Meadhbh depends now on the Whelp of the Land of Teamhair.
2. Ó Conchobhair's daughter is now saving Meadhbh's Province; well she welds it together; the hushed wind feels the presence of Sadhbh; may she by her good fortune save all!
3. Alone of women, Cathal's daughter comes to rescue her sires' land; by her popularity she rouses the rivalry of all; no lady can equal the Lady of Ráth.

4. All princes will visit her castle, all princesses will abide in her house; her house is ever full of folk, and yet she is ever inviting still more.
5. She is ever—'tis part of her blessedness—defending women and crushing ill deeds; her fame and power of intercession are ever saving women from troubles.
6. She has this said of her—how many there are of whom it can not be said!—that no lady surpasses her and that she surpasses them all; she is secure from fleshly sins, the weight of her prayers outbalances them.
7. This stately Queen of Magh Aoi—the fame of her generosity has gone afar; far to the East is her goodness known, and by her fame she travels around the Southern sea.
8. The glory of all kings shall not surpass hers; it is now a task for each King to surpass her glory; and the excellence of Sadhbh, the Flower of Dairbhre, is an assurance that she too will surpass them in every way.
9. The daughter of Cathal of the Land of Teamhair has merited the glory in which she excels all princes; "great" is good (epithet for princess) but she is "best."
10. She will raise—how many do not!—and is ever raising woman's glory to be highest of all; she is ever winning increase of blessing and is thus adding to the favour in which women are held.
11. Ó Conchobhair's daughter spends her unrivalled fortune in purchasing fame—there has been no investing of some of her property to acquire more (?)—so as to place ladies of her rank beyond all reproach.
12. Were one to inquire into the testimony borne her, (one would find that) no one ever outdid her in glory; however many have been judged inferior to her in popularity, this Lady of Cé is ever judged supreme.
13. She adapts her conduct to what best serves the Creator, and godlike is the way in which He will guard her; this Branch of Ruighe serves every saint and they all harken to her requests.
14. Every poet-band shares her wealth nor is there any whose desires she grants not; Sadhbh, Branch of Gabhair, has attained high fortune but not higher than her excellence.
15. To the blushing face of this Branch from the Bóinn I will bear this testimony—could one be higher?—: "In right judgment thou art supreme; when thou givest a judgment every lady admires it."
16. Thou hast added to thy fame, and hast turned away from every fault; no lady can find any point or (wrong) proportion (?) to mar thy beauty.
17. Thy hair's colour is as the sheen of the coif on thy firm-tressed locks; even when the ends of thy hair are hanging down about thy feet, it loses not the waviness of its curls.
18. Thou art far removed from Eve's sins (though) thy kinship with her makes thee anxious, but Eve's sin will get no nearer to thee than her kinship!
19. Thy name is enhanced when thou addest to thy wealth, and that wealth is held safe without recourse to wrong-doing; if thy lavishness of heart is no protection (for thy wealth) thy penance for sin is one.
20. By the witness borne thee, thou art shown to excel all ladies, and thy glory is seen to outdo all folk; if anything be wanting to thee 'tis neither wealth nor glory!
21. In her bestowing of wealth Sadhbh, Whelp from the Muaidh, surpasses all Connachta's ladies; in her bestowing of graceful steeds she is the best lady of her day.
22. She serves Heaven's folk and atones for God's wounds; to come safe from all sin is an easy task for her after her almsgiving.
23. Were not this Aoibheall of Cunga already wedded to a husband of Bréifne's foe-routing host, no fit mate could be found for her but a prince who will succeed in uniting all Éire.
24. Her modest spirit excels in generosity, her flower-like face in beauty; she is preeminent in her own right, her spouse is preeminent owing to union with her.
25. This Swan of the Leamhain depicts lion and dragon and steeds on her satin cloth, adding on its border herds of oxen (fleeing) before a wolf in gold.
26. Sadhbh enriches poets with her wealth, and avoids faults by her manner of life; the failings to be found in the perfection of any work—she alone can avoid them all.
27. To the Church she speeds for God's favours, to poets too she hastens—and that costs her much always! The poor folk who are anxious to meet her—she is equally anxious to meet them!
28. Before the steady fingers of the Wand of Liag sets about arranging her tresses the curls in her ringleted hair hang down their full length faultless.

29. She can turn the helm at the end of a boat, and can send her horse along at a gallop; her robe follows the altered line of her form; this means not decrease in health but pregnancy.
30. All men of Bréifne's host, when in the house of Cathal's daughter, say to her: "Even He who sees every hidden fault can discern naught to reproach in thee."
31. Thou shalt prove true, O curly head, what poets say of thee: "Thou canst make up for all women's faults, whether by thy fame or thy almsdeeds."
32. In fortune thou mountest over all the queens of Connachta, in glory no race has outdone thee; great thy glory in itself and great its report; it surpasses even those whom it should not be expected to surpass.
33. O Sadhbh, succour for thy own soul are all the dying thou succourest; women who invoke thy name are saved from evil (and) from the punishment due to mortal sin.
34. O daughter of Ailbhe of the Land of the Bóinn, no lady can rival thee in fame; what any woman in Brian's Banbha owns, thou feelest as though it were something gained by thyself.
35. She has got God to care for her, and wins blessing by caring for her neighbour; spite of any fault in her soul she will be brought by God to the goodly Palace.
36. Great thy fortune surpassing Banbha's rulers, it will surpass in fame all women; that fortune—such as never flowed for menial (?) woman—swells as the sea on flood-day (?)
37. Though she herself dreads sin, no saint will let sin come near her; any deed for which men incur reproach—though God might forgive it in others, He would not in her!
38. Meriting her glory, this daughter of the son of Domhnall of Tuathal's Fort has merited Heaven; this lady untouched by reproach keeps it off by her honour and generosity.
39. Fit saviour of Meadhbh's Province is Mág Shamhradháin—princely his rule; every host purchases peace with our Niall, and so he is now the guardian of the host of the Éirne.
40. Mág Samhradháin who loves to rule Bréifne's host, and of whom each stream speaks in hushed sound—he surpasses all the host of Banbha by the fortune of his fighting in clash of arms.

NOTES

Mag MS. p. 18

1*d*. Thea. 2*c*. tin *d*. dha 3*c*. dhaghebha *d*. raith. 4*c*. teadh *d*. a cui. 6*a* chuich *b*. Fearr *abest* *d*. a *abest*; tra 7*d* ri 8*b* teisd; air gach *c*. as gach *d*. Dhai. 9*a*. *leg*. Ca.? *b*. Fuair; cos. *c*. lait *d*. is maith gidh issi is 10*b*. *leg*. gcáich?; ge chu. *c*. mar da ga 11*b*. ri 12*b*. fagh. *d*. ge 13*a*. bhae ria *b*. ningne 14*b*. daimh; denand toil *c*. Fagh. 15*a*. co. *b*. is fe. *c*. ma, *leg*. man? *d*. ghair. 16*a*. ni as da thossaich *c*. ataghidh *d*. na in mheadh bhas ainibh 17*a*. da *c*. a *abest* *d*. fa tr. 18*a*. gu *c*. dot *d*. is; a *abest* 19*a*. rit *c*. –mithi *d*. –ridhi 20*a*. tussu os mn.; da the *b*. dai *c*. da; hanair 21*b*. tar (*line through it*) mna co. ni cu dhi *c*. ngr.; *leg*. ar dháil gcruidh, ar dháil ngreadh?; leis a sa. *d*. is fhe. 22*b*. ri *c* coi. *d*. lughu an eaghaidh 23*a* ibheall *b* Bif (e *over* B) *c*. da *d*. dharir 24*d*. is do na. dhol 25*a*. d. i leo. *b*. eochu *c*. car a corrchail *d leg*. n-óir? 26*b*. cheirrd *c*. daibhfear; ge chraet da ghe. *d*. ach 27*b*. gu da. *c*. da me air 28*b*. ri dl.; fu. fl. *c*. ca. 29*c*. beanaidh *d*. ach tr. a thaebh 30*a*. daenfir (*line through it*) aeinrith hingin Ca.; *leg*. gCa.? *c*. dhan; ainibh 31*a*. ar fho. feacdha *c*. gi bl. bha. de. gi de. 32*a*. air *b*. air *c*. dhula *d*. ludhu 33*b*. ar oir *c*. marbha 34*a*. Aillbhi Fh. *b*. bha the. *c*. ata tarbha *d*. Bain (i *over* B) 35*a*. ra. da re. *b*. dae riar *c*. i *abest* *d*. nadhbhrugh 36*a*. mar da rath; -raigh *d*. ar; thuili 37*b*. leicfi *c*. na mhaith. *d*. aithfear 38*a*. dhuin *c*. dhanair *d*. dae 39*a* dae cha. co. Mea. *b*. righa 40*c*. *illeg*.; aghla *d* dae; dae

FATHER HENRY FITZSIMON, S.J.

1566—1643

BY JAMES CORBOY, S.J.

HENRY FITZSIMON was born at Swords on the 31 May 1566. His father Nicholas, a Dublin alderman and an eminent merchant of his day, was the son of Sir Knight Fitzsimon. His mother was Anna Sedgrave or Edgrave, and he was related to Henry and James Ussher, both of whom were afterwards Protestant Primates of Armagh. At the age of ten Henry Fitzsimon went to England, where he lost the Faith and became a zealous Protestant. On the 26 April 1583, he matriculated as a member of Hart's Hall, Oxford. It is not known how long he remained here; but after a few years we find him in Paris, where according to himself he was " so farre overweening of my profession, that I surmised to be able to convert to Protestancie any incountrer whosoever . . . . At length by my happiness I was overcome by F. Thomas Darbishire ane owld English Jesuit long tyme experienced in the reduction of many thowsands to the Catholic religion."

After his conversion in 1587 he went to the University of Pont-à-Mousson, where he studied rhetoric and philosophy, becoming a Master of Arts in 1591. On the 15 April 1592, he entered the Society of Jesus. Having spent only fifteen months in the novitiate of Tournai, he was sent to Louvain in 1593 to finish his theological studies, which he had already begun before his entry into the Society of Jesus. Here he made such great progress, under the able supervision of the famous Fr. Lessius, that in a short time he was appointed professor of philosophy at Douai. Here also he made the acquaintance of Fr. Rosweyde, the pioneer of the future Bollandist Fathers, and Dr. Peter Lombard. In his writings he frequently recalls these two scholars as having been intimate friends. At this time, already interested in Irish history, he says that he " ransacked all the libraries in his way for our country's antiquities, and found a handwritten life of St. Patrick in the library of our college at Douai." He remained at Douai until his return to Ireland towards the end of 1597.

To appreciate the value of Fitzsimon's work in Ireland, we must review briefly the political and religious state of the country at the end of the sixteenth century. The Reformation in Ireland during the sixteenth century—*i.e.*, under the Tudor dynasty from Henry VIII to Elizabeth—was primarily a political movement. Not until the advent of James I was any real attempt made to establish a Protestant mission all over the country. Ireland had been saved from undue religious persecution

because the English could not exert political control except in or about Dublin and in some of the other towns. But the results of the Nine Years' War changed the whole aspect of the situation. In 1603 Ireland lay at the feet of her conqueror. Never before was there such an opportunity for propagating the reformed doctrines. It was in these years, so crucial for the Catholic religion, that the Jesuits of the first permanent Mission in Ireland arrived. Among them few had wider influence than Father Henry Fitzsimon.

Although Fitzsimon was imprisoned after the first two years, the result of his work was lasting. During that short period he had visited most of the influential families of the Pale. He had been particularly active in the City of Dublin, where he knew the brunt of the battle was borne. Every Sunday and feast-day he said Mass in the city and preached at least one sermon. On week-days he travelled into the country and visited the houses of the gentlemen of the Pale. His exhortations to remain steadfast in the Faith were generally successful, and he converted to a more fervent life several who had grown remiss in the practice of their religion.

One instance typical of his work will suffice to give some notion of the nature of his activities. Describing the actions of the Dublin Council prior to the death of Elizabeth, he says: " A sudden and violent persecution burst upon the Catholics. By order of my Superior (Fr. Holywood), I confirmed the chief men of the city by letters of consolation, by messengers and by many other ways. The other fathers also performed their duty with increasing care and with ardent zeal and devotion." But unfortunately the Catholics had not been well instructed in the doctrines of Faith and therefore might easily be duped by the reformers. In several parishes in Dublin the people were ordered to attend the Protestant Services, but all refused. Finally, a number of the inhabitants were summoned to appear before the magistrates. Fr. Fitzsimon visited them all personally and instructed them before the meeting. In his own words " all stood firm, rejoicing that they were deemed worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus." This victory strengthened the Catholics in the other cities of Ireland.

Of his work in Dublin we have an interesting account from the pen of Fr. Hamill, a secular priest. Writing on the 25 December 1598 he says: " As the Catholics increased daily, Fr. Fitzsimon thought it well to erect a chapel in the house of a nobleman, at which the faithful might assemble. He got the hall lined with tapestry and covered with carpets, and had an altar made, which was as handsome and as elegantly furnished and decorated as any altar in Ireland." In this chapel Fr. Fitzsimon celebrated High Mass, an event which was phenomenal in the Dublin of the time. Fr. Hamill, referring to his apostolate, says: " He converts hundreds to the faith. Not to speak of others who have returned to the

Catholic Church in Dublin, one hundred persons, who last year communicated according to the Protestant fashion, this year received instruction, reconciliation, confession and communion from the good father." For two years he worked incessantly and indeed most successfully to stem the tide of reform, but his good fortune did not last long. In November 1599, he was captured by the authorities and imprisoned in Dublin Castle.

Had Fitzsimon devoted himself solely to the active ministry of preaching and administering the sacraments, his main work would have ended here and his period of imprisonment would interest us but little. But his apostolate was more varied, and his most notable achievements lay in another field. As a controversialist he scarcely had an equal during his time in Ireland. On his arrival in 1597 we find him issuing challenges to all comers. Like St. Paul, he exclaimed that he himself had been defiled with almost the very same errors which he now sought out and refuted. " Why do I spend " he says " so precious time and so much pains? Only to confound my errors and to do satisfaction to truth and religion which I impugned. This also was the cause that, for two years after my return to Dublin, I was burning to dispute with the ring-leaders of the Reform—I wished it even, for this reason alone, that where my error had given disedification, my condemnation of error might wipe away the stain."

His imprisonment did not put an end to his controversial activities. On the contrary it seems that it increased his opportunities for disputing with the reformed leaders. Prison life in Ireland at this time was not always a pleasant experience, as anyone will understand who peruses the accounts left of the sufferings of Father David Wolfe or Archbishop Creagh. Fitzsimon himself gives us a description of his life during these days and of the hardships he had to endure. " From the time the Spaniards landed (September 1601) care was taken that I should be kept in the closest confinement, and be deprived of books and of every comfort that might alleviate the monotonous misery of prison life. By employing the most savage keepers he [the Governor of the prison] can find, by flogging some for being over-indulgent to me, by dismissing eight of them on that ground alone, and by suborning false witnesses against me, he shows the excess of his hatred against the name we bear (Jesuits) and the end we have in view." It is a remarkable fact that, before he left the prison-cell, Fitzsimon had made a fast friend of the governor. Yet in spite of these hardships Fr. Fitzsimon never ceased to carry on the work of the apostolate. The Protestant historian Wood, speaking of him at this time, says that he was the most able defender of the Catholic religion in Ireland. In prison he was always eager for the fray, and he compared himself to a bear tied to a stake waiting for someone to bait him.

It is interesting to note that Hugh O'Neill, on hearing of Fr. Fitz-

simon's imprisonment, demanded his instant release. He threatened even to renew hostilities with the government if his request was not granted, saying: "Wherefore as ever you think, that I shall enter to conclude either peace or cessation with the State, let him be presently enlarged." But he added that he was no more "beholden to him than to an Irish Catholic that is restrained in Turkey for his religion." The precise reason for O'Neill's antagonism to him is not clear. Some authors infer that Fitzsimon had no sympathy for the Irish in their effort to withstand by force of arms the efforts of the English to conquer the country. But there is no evidence for these assertions, and all we can say is that Fitzsimon's primary interests lay not in matters of state or politics, but as far as possible in purely spiritual affairs. His love for Ireland rests not merely on such meagre proofs as his desire to write her history and, as an exile, to forward her religion, but above all, as we shall see later, it is shown by his longing to return to a country wherein he knew that death would surely be his destiny if only he were once more captured by the authorities.

During his imprisonment Fr. Fitzsimon had controversies with many of the Protestant ministers, including the most outstanding men in the Dublin of the time. Among these were Dr. Challenor, Dean Meredith Hanmer, James Ussher and Dean Rider. To assess the moral value of this work, we need only recall the great advantage secured by the reformers in Germany—and by Luther in particular—on account of the lack of outstanding supporters of the Catholic cause. The history of the Catholic Church in France in the eighteenth century evinces the same defect. And we need only glance back over the history of the sixteenth century in Ireland to understand the vital necessity to the Catholic Church of able defenders of the Faith. Fr. Fitzsimon fully realised the inestimable advantage that would accrue to Catholics by the overthrow of the most prominent of their opponents. He saw that what the Catholics most needed was leadership. He would seek out their enemies, therefore, and refute their false doctrines, thus strengthening his own people in their Faith.

The language Fitzsimon used in the disputations might be considered unbecoming or even vulgar in our age, but such was the language of controversy of the time. That he had no personal enmity for his opponents is shown by the extraordinary number of them whom he converted. Even the gaoler, who had been so antagonistic to him, became a Catholic before Fitzsimon was released. Hanmer too, as we shall see, became his friend and never molested him again. Fitzsimon was too good-humoured to be easily upset by criticism and too disinterested in his work to take personal offence at every slight indictment.

Of his encounter with Challenor, Fitzsimon gives us a short account. "As I knew the Protestants considered Challenor as one of their cham-

pions, I challenged him. He refused to have any dealings with the Jesuits, because they were disliked by his sovereign. This was an excuse created by his cowardice . . . ." When Challenor failed, Hanmer, nothing daunted, accepted the challenge. He had already written against Edmund Campion and was esteemed very highly by the reformers. Fitzsimon, with his usual candour, gives us an account of their meeting. " Dean Meredith Hanmer . . . . came with many high people to my prison. As he remained silent, I, trusting in the goodness of my cause, undertook to defend what was weakest on our side and to attack what seemed strongest on theirs." But Hanmer, unable to uphold his side, yielded and, from that time forward, refused to debate on controversial subjects with Fitzsimon. It is typical of the latter that after their dispute he should make friends with his discomfited rival. Hanmer, on his part, was not ungrateful, as we learn from Fitzsimon, who in a time of great need received from his former adversary a barrel of beer, a sack of flour, and the use of his library.

His next opponent was James Ussher, who was appointed Archbishop of Armagh later. Even at the age of fourteen Ussher had shown signs of genius. At that time he had already made a careful study of Ancient History, the Scriptures and the Meditations of St. Augustine. Soon afterwards he made an extensive study of Latin and Greek authors, became interested in polemics, and was eager to read all the Fathers of the Church from the earliest times up to the Council of Trent. Whether Ussher really understood what he had read is extremely doubtful. But at least the vast learning that he had attained—superficially or otherwise we cannot discuss here—incited him to undertake the defence of the reformed doctrines against anyone who would dispute with him. He visited Fitzsimon in prison and had several discussions with him. Finally Ussher sought a public disputation, which Fitzsimon refused. Many writers, following Elrington, hold that the Jesuit shirked a trial of strength with this brilliant young man of eighteen. But even the Protestant historian Wood is of opinion that Fitzsimon grew weary of disputing with Ussher, as he probably saw that further argument was futile. Even though we admit the talent of Ussher, yet when we compare the age, experience, and theological training of the two, we prefer to accept the statement of Wood, which in fact is corroborated by a letter of Fitzsimon himself. In it he says : " Once indeed a youth of eighteen came forward with the greatest trepidation of face and voice. He was a precocious boy, but not of a bad disposition and talent as it seemed. Perhaps he was greedy of applause. Anyhow he was desirous of disputing about most abstruse points of divinity, although he had not yet finished the study of philosophy. I bid the youth bring me some proof that he was considered a fit champion by the Protestants, and I said that I would then enter into a discussion even with him. But as they did not think him a fit and proper person to defend them, he never again honoured me with his presence." Even

a cursory glance through Fitzsimon's writings is enough to convince one of his vast erudition, his prodigious knowledge of Scripture and the Classics, and his innate ability to turn an argument against an opponent.

Fitzsimon's final encounter was with Dean Rider, who later was appointed Bishop of Killaloe. Rider himself provoked the disputation, but once Fitzsimon had accepted the challenge, he lost heart and kept postponing the ordeal. Finally Rider was forced to admit of his adversary "that in words he is too hard for a thousand." Fitzsimon remained in prison for five years, but during that time he defended the Catholic cause with such success that, at the end of the period, he could sincerely declare that the reformers in Ireland were " clouds without water, wafted by the winds : they are autumn trees, barren and doubly dead." On the 5 April 1604, Fitzsimon gave an account of his five years' imprisonment. " I have been five years in prison, and I have been brought eight times before the Supreme Court . . . . The Governor of the prison has been my deadly enemy . . . . At present they deliberate about driving me into exile . . . . this is dearer to me than anything else in this world except death for the Faith." Soon after this he was released and banished from the country.

For the next twenty-six years Fitzsimon worked on the Continent. Many of his written works belong to this period, and he attempted even a History of Ireland, which unfortunately is not extant. He was chaplain to the Emperor in the Bohemian campaigns of 1620 and was an intimate friend of the greatest generals on the Austrian side. Little is known of his activities during these years, but in 1630 he was sent back to the Irish mission. He was then about sixty-four years old. From casual references here and there we can gather that age had not damped his zeal or enthusiasm. In 1637 it was reported that he was in good health for his years (he was then seventy-one) and that he still preached and heard confessions. In 1660 his contemporary Fr. Young wrote a sketch of his life where we find a description of his last years.

In the winter of 1641, Fitzsimon then about seventy-five years old was condemned to be hanged. In company with many other Catholics he fled to the Dublin mountains, where he sought shelter in a shepherd's hut. Even at this time he did not remain inactive, but went from house to house instructing the children of the poor and administering the sacraments. At last, worn out by fatigue and hardship, he was taken to the quarters occupied by the Irish army—probably at Kilkenny. There he was entrusted to the care of his religious brethren, but in a few months he was dead. The date of his death is uncertain, but it was probably the 29th November 1643. Writing of Fr. Fitzsimon, Fr. Young says that heresy feared his pen, and that Ireland admired and loved him for his piety and for the great gifts of nature and grace with which God had endowed him.

Fr. Fitzsimon's end is marked with a note of tragedy and even of apparent failure. An outlaw on the hills, he died far from the scene of his constant toils. Probably no priest had done more for the Catholics of the Pale than he had. No opponent had ever encountered him and gone away victorious. Yet, despite all his controversies, he had very few personal enemies. " By his death " says Wood " the Catholics lost a pillar of the Church, being esteemed a great ornament among them, and the greatest defender of religion, and the most noted Jesuit of his time." From these facts it is clear that Fitzsimon played a large part in the Catholic counter-reformation in Ireland.

Perhaps, before concluding this brief sketch of the life of Fr. Fitzsimon, it might be well to refer to his literary activities. He was one of the most voluminous writers of the time. Two of his books were written in refutation of the theories put forward by Dean Rider, whom we have already mentioned. These were " A Catholic Confutation of M. John Riders clayme of Antiquitie " and " A Reply to M. Riders Postscript." These and another book, " An Answer to certain complaintive letters of afflicted Catholics for Religion," were printed at Rouen in 1608. The latter has been edited by Fr. Edmund Hogan, S.J., under the title of " Words of Comfort to Persecuted Catholics." It gives a description of the persecutions which Catholics had to endure at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Ireland.

His next book was a treatise on the Mass. Printed at Douay in the year 1611, it is entitled " The Justification and Exposition of the Divine Sacrifice of the Masse, and of al Rites and Ceremonies therto belonging devided into two bookes." In the words of Fitzsimon, his first book treats of " controversies and difficulties, and devotion belonging to the Masse," while in the second book " the first masse in the missal is justified, and expounded for al and everie parcel thereof." This treatise, which contains almost 450 pages, displays remarkable intimacy with Sacred Scripture and with the writings of the Fathers of the Church.

The next work we know of is entitled " Britannomachia Ministrorum in Plerisque et Fidei Fundamentis, et Fidei articulis Dissidentium." Divided into three books, it contains a defence of Catholic doctrines and a refutation of the theories propounded by the reformers. In 1619, Fitzsimon edited at Liége the" Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae," which has been annotated by Fr. Paul Grosjean, S.J., in " Féil-Sgribhinn Eóin Mhic Néill." The " Bohemian Campaign " he published in 1620 under the pseudonym of " Constantius Peregrinus." This work is really a diary written during the wars in Bohemia. He also published another work, in connection with this campaign, under the title of " The Battle of Prague." After his return to Ireland in 1630, Fitzsimon was so harassed by persecution that no opportunity was given him for further literary work.

JAMES CORBOY

REVIEWS

Biography

SIR ROBERT KANE. A Pioneer in Science, Industry and Commerce. By D. O Raghallaigh, B.Sc., A.I.C. Cork University Press. 1942. 43 pp. 2s.

The Chemical Society of University College Cork is deserving of praise for its studies in the History of Chemistry in this country. Already brief accounts of William Higgins, Kirwan and MacNeven have appeared, and this short life of Kane is the latest addition to the series.

The History of Chemistry is even less suitable than political history for treatment from the purely national point of view ; for the work of any individual chemist is closely bound up with that of his contemporaries all over the world. Nevertheless it is stimulating and encouraging to Irish chemists to read of the achievements of their compatriots who, in the past, were among the leaders in the development of the science.

Kane's contribution to the radicle theory, his synthesis of mesitylene and his work on litmus undoubtedly place him among the leading chemists of his time, and a critical account of these researches in relation to the chemistry of the period would be interesting to chemists. The author of this pamphlet, however, contents himself with the mention of these scientific researches and devotes most of his pages to an account of Kane's other activities which are of more interest to the general reader. " The Industrial Resources of Ireland," a book which, published just a hundred years ago, has made Kane's name widely known among the Irish people, his researches on the utilisation of peat and on the cultivation of sugar beet, which he carried out or supervised as Director of the Museum of Irish Industry, and his Presidency of the Queen's College, Cork, are dealt with in an interesting manner. Indeed the story of Kane in Cork, including the libel action of Angeli *v.* Galbraith and the strange case of the fire in the College, make almost sensational reading.

It is said (though not in the book before us) that, during the later years of his Presidency, Kane ceased to reside in Cork, and one can well imagine that he was discouraged by such incidents as those related by Mr. O Raghallaigh. Perhaps tact and administrative ability were not among his gifts. The circumstances were indeed difficult ; but his successor, W. K. Sullivan, another chemist though perhaps not so distinguished in that subject as Kane, appears to have made more of a success of the administration of the College, until the ground was taken from under his feet by the abolition of the Queen's University.

Reading the story of a prominent Irishman such as Kane, whose active life occupied the middle of the last century, reading of the strange adventures and vicissitudes through which even a scientist such as he had to pass, one cannot help asking when will a historian do for Ireland in the nineteenth century what Lecky did for the eighteenth and give us the full story of that fascinating period which began with the Union and blew up in 1916 ?

T. D.

SAINT BRAULIO, BISHOP OF SARAGOSSA (631-651). *Life and Writings.* By Charles H. Lynch, M.A. Washington : Catholic University. 1938. $2.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF SAINT ILDEFONSUS OF TOLEDO. By Sister Athanasius Braegelmann, O.S.B., M.A. Washington : Catholic University. 1942. Pp. 199.

As far back as 1930 Dr. Aloysius K. Ziegler published a very useful monograph on *Church and State in Visigothic Spain,* a dissertation which he had submitted for his doctorate in the Catholic University of America. Since then he has joined the teaching staff of the University, and his influence has been apparent in a series

of co-ordinated studies of Catholic life and culture in Spain at a time when Isidore of Seville was the outstanding scholar of the Roman West. These two monographs are vols. II and IV of a new series of " Studies in Medieval History " published under Dr. Ziegler's direction. Vol. I contained a study of Paganism and Pagan survivals in the life of Visigothic Spain, by Rev. Stephen McKenna, C.SS.R. Vol. III (published in 1940) contained an elaborate study of St. Isidore's theory of the spiritual life, by Sister Patrick Jerome Mullins, O.P.

Of the two monographs here listed for review, Dr. Lynch's study of the life and writings of St. Braulio is the more important work. Braulio, who succeeded his brother John as bishop of Saragossa c. 631, is a younger contemporary of St. Isidore, who was attracted to Seville as a student by the fame of the city's scholarly bishop. He returned to Saragossa as archdeacon under his brother, Bishop John, and ruled the see of Saragossa in succession to John from 631 until his death in 651. A collection of 47 letters written by him or to him is preserved in a unique and early manuscript (Leon MS. 22). Dr. Lynch does not give us an accurate description of this MS. ; but it should be remembered that his thesis was compiled at a time when Spanish manuscripts were not accessible to scholars. For the same reason he is unable to give more than a bare mention of an unpublished *Vita beati Braulii*, preserved in the fifteenth century Escorial MS. P. iii, 5. There is thus room for further research-work in this field ; but this monograph can fairly claim to be the first systematic study of the saintly bishop's life and works.

Eight of Braulio's letters are addressed to St. Isidore, and six of them are directly concerned with the history of his *Etymologiæ*. Dr. Lynch adduces reason for altering the customary dating of these letters, and has thus made an interesting contribution to the history of one of the most famous medieval compilations. From the remaining letters he has reconstructed, with praiseworthy thoroughness, all that can be recovered of Braulio's life-story, and has added a useful survey of his work as theologian, canonist, scholar and saint. Braulio was probably the compiler of the code of Civil Law known as the *Forum iudicum*, and may perhaps have owned a copy of Justinian's *Codex*. Dr. Lynch makes an interesting study of the books that can be identified as Braulio's immediate sources. Most of them were typical early medieval *compendia*, and his first-hand knowledge of the Latin classics is open to doubt. Indeed it is probable that Hispano-Romans like John and Braulio had to spend long years in the painful task of acquiring a sound knowledge of the Church's Latin. We have here a most interesting sidelight on the history of pre-Carolingian schools.

Sister Braegelmann's study of St. Ildefonsus is shorter, for her material is scantier. Little is known of this contemporary of Braulio, who was bishop of Toledo from 657 to 667. No corpus of his letters has survived, and the later *Vitæ* are as untrustworthy as the fourteenth century *Vita* of Braulio which Dr. Lynch sets aside as a legendary tradition. Medieval Spain was indeed a happy hunting-ground for the pious fabricator of such legends ! What we know of St. Ildefonsus must be gathered from his extant works. His *De Viris Illustribus* (which contains valuable notices of Isidore, Braulio and other contemporary Spanish saints) is the best known ; but there are some exceedingly valuable details as to early Spanish liturgical rites in his *Liber de cognitione Baptismi* and in his *Liber de itinere deserti*. No less than 24 manuscripts survive of his *Liber de Virginitate Perpetua Beatae Mariae*, two of them dating from the ninth century. From these and from a short *Elogium Ildefonsi* compiled by the bishop's younger contemporary Julian, who was later himself bishop of Toledo, Sister Braegelmann has been able to make an interesting study of a very typical Spanish administrator and theologian of the middle of the seventh century.

A. G.

Celtica

ERIU. Vol. XIII—Part II. Edited by Osborn Bergin, T. F. O'Rahilly and Eleanor Knott. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy. 1942. 9s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF IRISH PHILOLOGY AND MANUSCRIPT LITERATURE. Publications 1913—1941. By R. I. Best. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1942. 7s. 6d.

CODICES PATRICIANI LATINI, a descriptive catalogue of Latin manuscripts relating to St. Patrick. By Ludwig Bieler. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1942. 2s.

TOPOGRAPHICAL POEMS. By Seaán Mór Ó Dubhagáin and Giolla-na-naomh Ó hUidhrín. Edited by James Carney. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1943. 5s.

To the current number of the Royal Irish Academy's journal *Eriu* Professor T. F. O'Rahilly has contributed one of the most remarkable series of "Notes, mainly etymological", which have ever yet appeared in a Celtic periodical. More than a hundred words have been studied by Professor O'Rahilly in these notes, and though a few of his etymologies may be open to criticism, all are stimulating and accompanied by citations which will be of the utmost value to future investigators. Professor O'Rahilly deals as an expert with words from every period of the language. Among notes of particular interest to students of Modern Irish attention may be drawn to the new instances and convincing etymologies of *óinmhid, amaid, láighe, suirghe, lacht, bolg, fáth, Magh Chromtha, uiread, milleán, prádhainn, builín, dealamh* 'indigent', *laiream* 'with me', *forú* 'eyelash', *uirceann, treó, trúig, áirdeall,* and English "clown", with its Irish by-forms *colún, coilín, coillneach.* An index of the words discussed makes reference easy for users of this valuable seventyfive-page article. The late Provost Gwynn's commentary on the Old Irish tract on poets' privileges published by him in the first part of Vol. XIII, and four shorter articles by Professor O'Rahilly, some of them hardly of less interest than his "Notes", complete this part of *Eriu,* which is the second and concluding part of Vol. XIII.

Full, well indexed, and accurately prepared bibliographies are essential to the advancement of any science. Users of the *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature* compiled by Dr. R. I. Best some thirty years ago, when he was Assistant Librarian in the National Library, know that it fulfills scientific requirements. They will therefore welcome the supplement to it which has recently been issued by the Institute for Advanced Studies, in whose School of Celtic Studies Dr. Best is now a Senior Professor. The supplement is entitled *Bibliography of Irish Philology and Manuscript Literature.* It lists books and articles published between the years 1913 and 1941, thus completing the earlier *Bibliography,* which must be used beside it to have a complete conspectus of the subject. Here and there among its two and a half thousand entries and accompanying indexes a slip may have been made. But the rarity of such slips is remarkable, and the work as a whole is such as only a scholar aware of the needs of scholarship could have produced.

By lectures and seminar courses given by him under the auspices of the National University of Ireland, Dr. Ludwig Bieler of Vienna has during the past few years helped to equip Irish students to investigate the much-neglected Latin sources of our medieval culture. The Institute has now brought some of the fruits of Dr. Bieler's researches to the notice of a wider public by publishing for him a carefully drawn up catalogue of *Codices Patriciani Latini,* which will be indispensable to future editors or investigators of Latin Patrician documents. "The list," Dr. Bieler tells us, "is divided into two groups: (A) works of St. Patrick (genuine and supposed); (B) lives of St. Patrick and other biographical documents." Many hitherto neglected manuscripts have been brought to light in this catalogue, which

has been prepared with that scholarly thoroughness which those familiar with Dr. Bieler's methods have learnt to expect. In an appendix reasons have been given for identifying the hitherto unidentified and unpublished Novara life of Patrick with a copy of the version of Muirchu's life used by Probus. It is to be hoped that, when normal conditions prevail once again, facilities will be afforded to Dr. Bieler to continue his researches in continental and Irish libraries, so that he may ultimately realize the plan for a *Corpus Patricianum Latinum* of which he speaks in his preface.

The most recent work produced by a member of the Institute's School of Celtic Studies is Ó Dubhagáin's and Ó hUidhrín's *Topographical Poems*, critically edited by Mr. James Carney. This book will be of interest both to historians and to students of Early Modern Irish ; for Seaán Mór Ó Dubhagáin (who died in 1372) and Giolla-na-naomh Ó hUidhrín (who died in 1420) have used the classical language of their own day to summarize what they knew about the families ruling in the various territories of Ireland before the Norman invasion at the end of the twelfth century. Their poems have hitherto been read chiefly in O'Donovan's edition, published in 1862 by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society. The new edition is based on a wider survey of existing manuscripts, whose variants are satisfactorily cited for the guidance of experts. Mr. Carney's text is a great improvement on that of O'Donovan, in whose day the rules of classical metre were not well known. In the first two quatrains, for instance, O'Donovan prints the rimes "*fóidibh : coigeadha*", "*leagaidh : teagaid*", which would have shocked Ó Dubhagain. Mr. Carney prints these rimes in their correct forms "*fóidibh : cóigidh*", "*leagaid : teagaid*".

Such corrections, apart from making the poems more attractive to the reader, are occasionally of value to those interested in the name-forms used by Ó Dubhagáin and Ó hUidhrín. The Irish form of the name of the lords of Fir Tulach in ancient Meath, for instance, as printed by O'Donovan is *Ó Dubhlaidhe*. O'Donovan's form is supported by the two best manuscripts. The metre, however, shows that it cannot have been the form used by *Ó* Dubhagáin, for it would make the line a syllable too long. Mr. Carney, by combining metrical considerations with the imperfect readings of other manuscript texts of the poem and a Book of Leinster form of the name, has rightly emended to *Ó Dubhlaoich* (*Dubhlaoch* would mean literally 'black warrior'). Though O'Donovan's notes and introduction, with their wide if occasionally faulty learning, will remain indispensable to students of these poems, Mr. Carney's well-indexed volume will henceforward be authoritative where textual matters are concerned. G. M.

CLASSICS

AESCHYLUS IN HIS STYLE. A Study in Language and Personality. By William Bedell Stanford. Dublin : Hodges Figgis & Co. 1942. 10s. 6d. net.

CARMINA DUBLINENSIA. By Sir Robert William Tate, K.B.E. Dublin : Hodges Figgis & Co. 1943. 5s. net.

CLASSICAL scholarship is generally looked upon as static, if not retrograde ; but in certain respects it is capable of advances almost as rapid as those made by the physical sciences. Thus it is a fairly safe claim that the work of the last forty years has rendered Aeschylus far more intelligible to readers of the present day than he has been to any generation since the sixth century A.D. Though only seven of his plays survive and though until quite recently the papyri, so fruitful in other ways, have contributed little to our knowledge of his work, still whole areas of his text have been cleared of the nonsense which disfigured it more than most, his

metres have been made plain, his artistic aims studied against the clearly-emerging background of his period, and his complex religious, moral, and political ideas illuminated by a whole series of converging researches. It is no wonder, in view of this great increase in knowledge and appreciation, that Aeschylus should have become an inspirer of modern poetry, from Hopkins to MacNeice.

Professor Stanford's little book sums up in very convenient form a great deal of knowledge which will be invaluable to the Aeschylean student. Nothing of any significance in the way of previous contribution to his subject has escaped him, and he has treated his mass of material with great originality, applying to it a technique worked out by himself in his two earlier books, *Greek Metaphor* and *Ambiguity in Greek Literature*. The promise contained in these earlier books has been abundantly fulfilled, and *Aeschylus in His Style* is Professor Stanford's best work so far. Beginning with a chapter devoted to ancient criticisms on Aeschylus's style, he goes on to deal with the poet's borrowings from his literary predecessors or from contemporary colloquial sources. Then follow four chapters on the choice of words, imagery and imagination, characterization by stylistic means, and sources of obscurity. Each of these chapters is packed with well-observed and skilfully-classified detail, so that almost every word or phrase occurring in the plays is ultimately brought under examination. The result is no dry-as-dust piece of statistics, but a living work of criticism in which the great object is always to illuminate the poet's mind and clarify his meaning.

Professor Stanford remarks that scholars have often smoothed away the special features of Aeschylus's very difficult style in the belief that no such Greek could have been written by even the most obscure poet. A good deal of the progress made in modern study of the plays has been due to the abandonment of this type of emendation and to the recognition of the fact that Aeschylus cannot be bound by Sophoclean canons. How much of real critical value can be brought to light by more sympathetic treatment is admirably shown by Professor Stanford's own chapter on characterization by stylistic means, perhaps the most original chapter in the book. Especially worthy of note, perhaps, in this chapter is his happy isolation of what he suggests might be called " heraldic " humour, as it is mostly used by heralds. In the chapter on imagery, again, having shown that Aeschylus's proportion of metaphor to simile is the reverse of Homer's, he follows up very successfully a suggestion of Headlam's, who noticed how each play tends to be dominated by a particular type of metaphor. In the same chapter he shows very convincingly that Aeschylus's use of oxymoron has often a special religious or moral purpose. There is, perhaps, only one important point on which Professor Standford's view may be challenged. Referring to the saying of Chamaeleon that Aeschylus often composed his tragedies when drunk, he characterizes it as a " slander " and explains it as a late misrepresentation of words used in the *Eumenides :* " passions not aroused by wine." It is surely more probable that the suggestion of inspiration by wine is early, and derives from the time when the poet was still the medium of Dionysiac utterance. The allegation was no more slanderous in the case of Aeschylus than in that of his comic analogue, Cratinus. We would strongly recommend Professor Stanford's book to all students of Aeschylus and to all lovers of literature who can recall some of their Greek.

Sir Robert Tate has followed up his volume of *Orationes et Epistolae* with another of translations into Greek and Latin verse. Needless to say, the versions are flawless and felicitous. The specimens chosen for translation are very varied in type, ranging from Shakespeare to Longfellow and from *There's a breathless hush in the Close to-night* to *Annie Laurie*, with a couple of Heine's songs (one the *Lorelei*) thrown in. The Greek versions are all in iambic trimeters ; the Latin are more varied, and

include several alternative renderings in different metres. In a spirited introduction, Sir Robert defends the practice of verse composition. Once upon a time such defence was entirely unnecessary. Now, so much have conditions changed, it is a forlorn hope. The great argument against the practice is that it is so costly in time for so little real return. Few teachers will agree that verse composition is the only means of securing capacity to read according to the rhythm; indeed it is a highly prodigal method, and cases have been known to occur where pupils could write hexameters but not read them. M. T.

EDUCATION

THE FUTURE IN EDUCATION. By Sir Richard Livingstone. Current Problems Series. Cambridge University Press. 1941. 3s. 6d. net.

EDUCATION FOR A WORLD ADRIFT. By Sir Richard Livingstone. Current Problems Series. Cambridge University Press. 1943. 3s. 6d.

THERE are many books on education, but very few give any space to the fundamental question, what education is really for. These two booklets are among the few, and should be read and re-read by everybody who gives any thought to educational problems. They offer welcome evidence that some of the ablest men in England are aware of two things: first, that there is something wrong with current educational theory and practice; and second, that the necessary treatment is a return to the old ethical content which was imparted by Socrates to European education at its very origin. Catholics may find themselves compelled to query some details in Sir Richard Livingstone's finely-written presentation of his case, but in principle they will surely agree with his views, and hope most fervently that these views will be widely adopted.

It may perhaps seem that the problems here discussed are peculiar to England, and that we in Ireland have both our own problems and our own entirely original solutions for them. Too many responsible people quite evidently do feel that here everything is going well in education, and that we are exempt in this as in other respects from the deficiencies of the world at large. Nationalism has tended to blind us all to the fact that European society, and therefore European education, is a unity. Its sickness cannot easily be isolated in any one member, and its various component parts have in fact been influencing each other for centuries. On the very last page of the first of these books occurs the challenging statement: "We have lost . . . our grip on education. It has become a mass of uncoordinated subjects, a chaos instead of a cosmos." Who can say that this confession could not equally well be made for Eire or the United States as for England?

The two books deal with the same question from slightly differing points of view. Both emphasise the terribly disappointing results of a whole century's educational achievement—widespread literacy combined with a widespread want of taste, the stoppage of all mental training for the mass of the people at the age of fourteen, universal materialism so innocently given free rein that even the possibility of any other kind of life is hardly thought of, general sabotage of all the finest human traditions, religious, moral, and aesthetic. For these evils two concomitant kinds of treatment are propounded. The first book is almost entirely a plea for adult education on new lines, and draws a great deal of its inspiration from the Danish Folk High School movement. The second emphasises the need for character-training as the centre of all education; its text might be said to be Whitehead's sentence, quoted on p. 50: "Moral education is impossible without the habitual vision of greatness." It is in their capacity to impart this vision of greatness that history and literature find their chief justification as educational

instruments. By their means the child can be led to set itself right standards, then to acquire right habits, and finally to take the all-important step from habit to reason.

It is very striking to see an English expert laying such stress on the possibility of adapting the Folk High School, with its predominant emphasis on history and literature, to English needs. Sir Richard suggests that, after the war, local education authorities will have a splendid chance to acquire vacant great houses for this purpose, and that by this means the best in Arnold's public school idea can be made available for all classes in the form of adult education. The value of literature and history is even more emphatically stated in the second booklet, which is particularly to be commended for its powerful criticism of the examination-system and for its condemnation of Professor Dewey's view that secondary education should be the place for general training and culture, while higher institutions should be purely for specialised professional study. This view has often been advanced in this country in recent years. Its origin in the doctrinal system of an American materialist philosopher should be carefully noted.

Catholics will of course be able to reinforce very strongly Sir Richard's plea for concentration on moral training, which is merely the Platonic part of the Christian educational tradition. They will miss any full advertence in his pages to the unique educational value of religious training, in spite of his claim that England is the most religious of all lands. The truth is that what has chiefly led to the present chaotic state of education everywhere is the removal of its old centre in religious *worship*, which precedes even moral training. In Ireland, while we have of course preserved religion, we have tended to follow English fashion in keeping it isolated from culture. The method of exposition followed by Sir Richard leads him very properly, in both books, to discuss how both history and literature may be studied with a moral bias, and he quotes to great advantage Lord Acton's famous injunction " never to debase the moral currency or to lower the standard of rectitude." He wisely says that we must distinguish two sides of every great man—his abilities and his ends, and suggests that every child should carry away from school portraits of a few really great men, in the moral sense of the word. Unfortunately, in making suggestions for a list of such men, he puts the late President Masaryk on a level with St. Francis, Socrates, and Our Lord. The crudity of this choice of parallels may shake confidence in an argument which in itself is thoroughly sound. M. T.

ESSAYS ON CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by Roy J. Deferrari, Ph.D., LL.D. Washington : Catholic University of America Press. 1942. 556 pages. $4.50.

The Catholic University of America Press has to be congratulated on the issue of this fine volume of essays, and Dr. Deferrari has shown great skill as editor. This large volume is the outcome of lectures delivered during the summer of 1939. When printed, there was such a demand for these lectures that, " after some thought and consideration, it was decided not to reprint the lectures but to organize a collection of essays dealing with those phases of Catholic Education either not treated at all in the earlier volume or presented only in part." The list of essayists is indeed imposing, and the subject matter discussed covers a vast ground. There are 27 essays divided into five parts : Fundamental Principles ; Divisions of the Educational System ; Professional Schools ; Some Special Fields ; Catholic Education within Special Groups.

In most of these essays it is mainly the practical side of Education that comes under discussion, although the theoretical exposition of principles is given due prominence. Hence the educator who is after the solution of a practical problem

will find this collection of essays very helpful. But even the general reader will find abundant matter of interest and will come away with a deep impression, first of the valuable work done for Catholic Education in America, and also of the " frankness and honesty " of the various writers who " are aware of the weaknesses and strong points of Catholic Education in the United States." It is a refreshing thought that so much is done across the Atlantic on behalf of sound Catholic Education by such a galaxy of zealous educators. R. C.

HISTORY

THE ENGLISH CARMELITES. By Lancelot C. Sheppard. London : Burns Oates. 1943. 6s.

MR. SHEPPARD has made a most useful contribution to English Catholic history ; and his account of the Carmelite Order in England is all the more welcome because it gives us, though indirectly, some of the store of information accumulated by a great scholar, the late Father Benedict Zimmerman, O.D.C. Father Zimmerman was best known to English-speaking Catholics for his work on St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross ; but he was interested in all that concerned the history of his Order, and Mr. Sheppard acknowledges in his preface the help which Father Benedict gave him " in the initial stages of gathering information," and his " unfailing kindness and encouragement and continual readiness to answer questions on obscure points." No better guarantee could be wished for the substantial accuracy of this book.

The story begins with a crusading pilgrimage to the Holy Land, organised in 1240 by Richard Earl of Cornwall, Henry III's brother. The Earl returned to Europe in 1241, and he brought with him a colony of the brethren who had been living as hermits on Mount Carmel. These hermits were introduced to the King by a group of English crusading noblemen, and Henry gave them permission to make the first Carmelite foundations within his realm. Tradition assigns priority to the Priory at Hulne near Alnwick ; but there were other early foundations in Norfolk (at Bradmer), in Kent (Aylesford) and at Newenden near Hastings. The first General Chapter of the Order celebrated in Europe, outside the Holy Land, met at Aylesford in 1247. An English friar-hermit, St. Simon Stock, was elected Prior General by this Chapter, and his rule (until his death in 1265) marks a new epoch in the Order's history. Innocent IV gave papal approbation to a modified Carmelite Rule in the summer of that year, and the most significant change in this new Rule was the permission to found convents " in solitary places or in others which are given to you, if they are convenient and apt for the observances of your rule." The Brethren of Mount Carmel have now ceased to be hermits living in remote solitudes, devoted to the practices of austerity and contemplative prayer. Henceforth they begin to go into the world, carrying with them the contemplative traditions of their Order, but prepared by long years of theological study for an apostolate as active missionary friars.

It is a pity that so little is known of the English friar, Simon Stock, who has left his mark so deeply on the spirit and history of his Order. He was, almost certainly, one of the first group of hermits from Mount Carmel who returned to England with the crusaders in 1241, and it is probable that he had gone to Mount Carmel from England some years before 1240. There is a tradition that he was born in Kent, but the plain truth is that next to nothing is known of his life before his election as Prior General in 1247. His influence can be detected in the rapid development that followed the Aylesford Chapter. Within the next eight years foundations had been made at Oxford, London, York, Norwich and Cambridge. The Carmelite Friars were beginning to take their place beside the Franciscan and Dominican communities.

Progress was slow during the next century; but no student of the fourteenth century can fail to detect the fact that Carmelite influence counted for much in the intellectual life of England during the years of crisis which preceded and followed the Black Death. John Walsingham, who taught theology at Oxford and Paris in the first quarter of the century and who ruled the English Province from 1326 to 1328, was summoned to Avignon by John XXII to defend the Pope's authority against the disconcertingly effective attacks of an English Franciscan, William Ockham. One of Walsingham's pupils, John Baconthorpe, ranks as almost the founder of a school; he was known as *Doctor Resolutus*, and his doctrine was akin in many ways to the new nominalist doctrines of Ockham. A generation later another Oxford master, John Kynyngham or Cunningham (as we spell the name to-day), took an active part in the defence of Catholic tradition against the new heresies of Wyclif. He was one of a group of Carmelite friars who won a reputation for their vigorous polemics against Wyclif and his Lollard followers. In the early fifteenth century the ablest spokesman of the old Catholic tradition was unquestionably Thomas Netter (commonly known as Waldensis, from his birthplace at Saffron Walden), whose *Doctrinale Fidei Ecclesiae* prepared the way for Bellarmine's *Controversies*. Bellarmine constantly quotes Waldensis with great respect for his learning, and he imitated the English Carmelite doctor's new method of apologetics.

There is evidence of a decline in fervour and reputation during the last phase of the Middle Ages, and we in Ireland do not need to be reminded that an apostate Carmelite friar, John Bale, was one of the most fanatically anti-papal Protestant controversialists of the Tudor period. He was also a pioneer in the tradition of English antiquarianism, and his undoubted learning and special interest in the history of English Carmelites has preserved much valuable information, set forth in the various editions of his *Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Brittanniae Catalogus*. Mr. Sheppard prints a list of 38 pre-Reformation Carmelite houses in England. Bale had been a novice at Norwich and had studied in the Cambridge *studium*. He was in succession Prior of Doncaster, Norwich and Ipswich; but the friars in and around London—and in most of the wealthier English towns of the Tudor era—had lost the fervour of their earlier days. There is no Carmelite martyr on the list of the English martyrs who have been beatified; though Laurence Cooke, who was Prior of Doncaster at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, is among the *praetermissi*.

The reform associated with the names of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross reached England early in the seventeenth century. Father Simon Stock of St. Mary (Thomas Doughty) landed in England as a missionary priest in 1615, and a small number of Discalced Carmelites worked in England throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of them suffered great hardships in their heroic effort to carry on their work in spite of priest-hunters and the like. But the archives of this Carmelite mission have been lost, and Mr. Sheppard has been able to glean no more than a few scattered incidents and names. The last member of this older mission of the Discalced Brethren was Father Francis Willoughby Brewster, who worked as a missionary priest in his native town of Market Razen and died there in 1849. A new mission of the Discalced Carmelites was opened by Father Augustine Mary (a convert Jew, formerly known as Hermann Cohen), whom Cardinal Wiseman invited to England in 1862. The present Carmelite Church at Kensington, designed by Pugin, is a memorial of his active work in London. There are two other small foundations of the Discalced Carmelites in England, and these three houses are now united with the Irish houses as a single Anglo-Hibernian Province of the Order.

Meanwhile the older branch of the Order, which had failed to maintain its

existence in England from the date of the Suppression to our own day, has returned to England through Ireland. The Irish Calced Carmelite Fathers took charge of two parishes in Kent in 1926; one of these parishes (Faversham) is close to the old Priory of Aylesford, where the Chapter General of 1247 was held in the days of St. Simon Stock. More recently (1936) these same Irish Carmelite Fathers have made a foundation at Aberystwyth which promises to open a new era in the long struggle for the reconquest of Catholic Wales. But that foundation lies outside the scope of Mr. Sheppard's work. His book ends with a brief account of the English Carmelite Nuns (who have now their own historian in Sister Anne Hardman's *English Carmelites in Penal Times*), a short description of the Carmelite liturgy, and a most impressive statement in the concluding chapter on "The Spirit of the Carmelite Order." A. G.

THE CIVIL SURVEY 1654–1656. Edited by Robert C. Simington. Vol. VI. Co. Waterford; Muskerry; Co. Cork; Kilkenny City. Published for the Irish Manuscripts Commission by the Stationery Office. 1942. Pp. 557. 42s.

THIS volume, the sixth of the series, is like its predecessors a fine piece of work and makes widely available one of our important national records. It embraces detailed statistics of inhabitants and dwellings for large tracts of County Waterford and for the cities of Cork and Kilkenny. From the information supplied we might, with little difficulty, reconstruct street by street and house by house the world of close on 300 years ago in these areas. But it was not to facilitate us in such an enterprise that these records were first compiled. They have a sterner significance and remain a monument to the thoroughness with which the project of satisfying Cromwellian adventurers and paying off Cromwellian soldiers by grants of estates and land in Ireland was undertaken. "The immediate circumstances leading to the taking of the Civil Survey were," we are told, "the statutory commitments of successive Parliaments, in England, in respect of advances of money, by way of adventure, and of the arrears of pay due by the Commonwealth Government to its own officers and soldiers."

No small gratitude is due to Dr. Simington—the editor of this volume—for the care with which he has carried out the work and, in particular, for the pains taken to draw attention to changes that have in the course of time taken place in regard to the boundaries of certain parishes and baronies. Without knowledge and warning of these changes there would be risk of serious confusion in appraising the information contained in the Survey. Dr. Simington's considerable Introduction is valuable also for its very full discussion of the MS. sources upon which the present volume is based. It throws an interesting light too on the professional historian's hopes and disappointments, and contains an appeal for help in the discovery of missing records which is most timely and will, we trust, meet with a sympathetic response. Much in the present volume indeed comes from private sources, as for example what pertains to the barony of Muskerry and the city of Kilkenny—all of which goes to show the valuable work being achieved by the Manuscripts Commission in this interesting series of its publications. C. O'C.

CALENDAR OF ORMOND DEEDS. Edited by E. Curtis, Litt.D. Vol. V. Stationery Office. Pp. 396. 1942. 21s.

A CENSUS OF IRELAND. Edited by Seumas Pender, M.A. Stationery Office. Pp. 946. 1942. 42s.

THESE two volumes are both produced under the aegis of the Irish Manuscripts Commission. They form a valuable addition to Irish historical printed records.

They are a credit to the painstaking editors who have prepared them for the press and introduced them with instructive and useful Prefaces. Mr. Pender, in particular, must feel a pardonable pride as he contemplates the bulky volume which represents so many hours of patient work.

Professor Curtis's work, as in the earlier volumes published by him in the same series, is one of synopsis and précis, well and effectively done. In this volume he supplies an abstract of some 370 Deeds, described at varying lengths as their subject matter seemed to require. By means of these Deeds, which cover the years 1547-1584, we are brought into contact with what their editor terms " one of the most eventful and formative periods of Irish history." It is a contact full of interest, illustrating as it does the success with which the Earls of Ormond extended their influence through several provinces and over a wide range of Irish counties, and preserved for themselves the undisturbed exercise of the Palatine jurisdiction conferred on the family in earlier times.

Mr. Pender's work is of a different character. His task has been not to assess and synopsise but rather to reproduce in detail the findings of a quite comprehensive census carried out about the year 1659. To this he has added a transcript of a Poll Money Ordinance of 1660. The work has been done with a thoroughness deserving of the highest praise, and its value is greatly enhanced by the very painstaking index of close on 400 pages by which the book is concluded. To both Professor Curtis and Mr. Pender, therefore, students of Irish history are deeply indebted for the labour that has gone to the production of these volumes; and not less so to the Manuscripts Commission which has made that production possible.

C. O'C.

RELIGION IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By N. S. Timasheff. London: Sheed and Ward. 1943. 6s.

For a Catholic reader this is very much the most interesting account of Soviet policy that has appeared for a long time. Professor Timasheff was a young Associate Professor of Jurisprudence in Petrograd in 1917; he was then, and still is, a devout member of the Orthodox Church. He was able to continue his work in Russia until 1921, and the experience of those four years of revolutionary Communism in action have been invaluable to him as an observer, trained and eager to note the actual effects of each new law or regulation in the past quarter of a century. From 1921 to 1936 he taught in various institutions of higher learning in Czechoslovakia and France. He came to Harvard in 1936, where he taught the Sociology of Law for four years. In 1940 he was appointed assistant Professor of Sociology in the Jesuit University of Fordham; and this book appeared in 1942, with a preface by Father Moorhouse Millar, S.J. The first English edition has now been published by Messrs. Sheed and Ward.

Professor Timasheff writes as an Orthodox Russian, who is proud of the traditions of his Church and to whom the long resistance of Russian Christians to the atheist system of Soviet Communism is a manifestation of the old Russian spirit, as unconquered in the things of the spirit as the Russian armies have proved difficult to overthrow in modern warfare. He opens with an account of the Russian Church before 1914. It is worth noting that he recognises the fatal error made by Peter the Great—it was not the only error of that impulsive and erratic genius—when he abolished the Patriarchate and substituted government by a Synod modelled after the type of government which Peter had observed in the Lutheran churches of Prussia and Sweden. The effect of that change was to deprive the Russian clergy and laity of leadership; and also to foster an anti-clerical and anti-religious spirit among the revolutionary intelligentsia of Czarist Russia. Peter's work was not

undone until 1917, when " a national council called in Moscow restored the Patriarchal See and provided for more vigorous parochial life." But it was too late. " The Church had to meet persecution in a state of internal weakness." Professor Timasheff goes on to study the amazing recovery of interior life and spirit, won back by bishops and clergy at a time when an openly and militantly atheist government was seeking to destroy the very roots of Christianity in Soviet Russia.

This book distinguishes three main phases in the Soviet attack on the Church. The first (November 1917—February 1922) has won the Communist system in Russia its unenviable reputation as the most unrelenting and merciless persecutor of the Church in the modern world. Lenin had no doubts as to the necessity of vanquishing the Christian faith ; but Professor Timasheff notes that he and Stalin have always been more hostile to Roman Catholics and the Pope's representatives in Russia than to the Orthodox faithful. These Communist leaders were well able to appreciate the international significance of the Catholic Church as compared with Russia's national church. All Church property was seized ; religious societies as such were dissolved ; monasteries were suppressed ; and the priests were killed or reduced to the lowest status of the new Communist class-system. They were proclaimed by law to be non-workers and servants of the bourgeoisie, and were disfranchised with all the multiple disadvantages attaching to this social status. Religious instruction was forbidden in the schools ; the family was " liberated " from the influence of the Church ; civil marriage and divorce were alone recognised ; state education was everywhere directed to the destruction of Christian traditions.

This first phase culminated in the order to confiscate the sacred vessels of all surviving churches (February 26, 1922). The resistance to that order by an infuriated peasantry revealed how widespread had been the failure to link anti-Christian propaganda with political and social revolution. In an acute analysis Professor Timasheff shows how easy it is for a party, led by a clear-sighted man of action such as Lenin, to impose unpopular legislation on a people that has supported revolution in its early stages for the sake of an immediate advantage. In 1917 the immediate gains were peace for all, bread (in the cities) and land (for the peasant). But four years of open warfare with Christian traditions ended in this first lesson of failure. A period of relative calm followed. The Patriarch Tikhon, whose refusal to surrender the sacred vessels had caused his imprisonment and made him a national hero, was released in 1923 ; he died, a venerated leader of Orthodox Russian Christians, on April 7, 1925. During the next few years the Soviet government relaxed the severity of some of its more recent laws ; but there was no relaxation nor alteration of the fundamentally materialist and antichristian character of the new Communist State. The League of Militant Atheists was founded early in 1925 ; but its rapid increase in membership did not begin until 1928, with the second phase of increased religious persecution. Professor Timasheff holds that its effective force has been much weakened in recent years by a progressive deterioration in the type of new members admitted to its ranks.

This second phase is of special interest as affording us insight, on the authority of the Soviet's own laws, into the successful adaptation of the Orthodox clergy to the new conditions imposed by hostile Soviet legislation. The mass-closing of churches through the Russian countryside was in itself proof that the new order had failed to induce the peasants to close these churches of their own free will. No less than 1440 churches are said to have been closed in 1929, under pressure from the Young Communist League or similar organisations. An attack on the clergy and hierarchy of the Orthodox Church bears similar witness to the vitality of Russian Christianity. About 150 bishops were rounded up and interned in the great con-

centration camp which the government had organised in a former monastery (Solovetski) situated on a group of islands in the White Sea. Most of them are there to this day. But the most significant fact is that the new anticlerical laws were aimed in particular at the suppression of charitable and social works organised by the clergy. Priests were forbidden to hold prayer-meetings or Bible-classes ; to organise circles or excursions ; to open playgrounds or reading-rooms ; to administer sanatoriums or offer medical aid to the sick or poor. It is obvious that the clergy had not merely survived the first twelve years of open persecution, but had succeeded in winning their way to the hearts of the people by activities which are so familiar to us that they seem inseparable from the Catholic way of life.

This second phase of severe persecution was brief ; it seems to have been ended under pressure from outside. Pius XI had let his voice be heard throughout Europe, and in England a Christian Protest Movement threatened to imperil English recognition of the Soviets at a time when foreign help was urgently needed for the success of the Five Years' Plan. So a volte-face can be noted in the issue of orders which condemned the activities of the Militant Athesists and similar open challenges to the old faith.

From about 1934 Stalin began deliberately to foster the knowledge and love of old Russian traditions, and this new policy could not go far without having to face the problem of Russian Christian traditions. In 1936 Demyan Byedny, the official poet of the new régime, was censured by the government for having ridiculed the conversion of Russia to the Christian faith in an opera which burlesques the mass-baptism of Russians as a drunken farce. Wedding rings, which had been forbidden since the Revolution of 1917, were now commonly made and worn ; and frequent divorce was discouraged. But this book notes that there was no repeal of " the abominable family laws " which are still fundamental in Soviet legislation, though their actual operation has been much modified by a series of more or less reluctant concessions to popular tradition. Throughout this extraordinarily interesting account of the Soviet's attitude towards Christianity, that fact has constantly to be borne in mind. Pressure from within or from without has again and again forced the Communist leaders to alter their tactics ; but there has been hitherto no alteration in the fundamental principles of their policy.

The third and sharpest era of persecution was as recent as 1937-38 ; it coincides with the famous reign of terror under Yezhoff. Professor Timasheff more than once uses the epithet " Neronian " to convey his judgment of this final phase. The attack was here, quite openly, against the Church's leaders, not against the mass of the orthodox faithful. Just as Stalin's rivals in the great gamble for power and the group of Russian generals accused of treason with Germany were done to death, so the leaders of the Orthodox Church were struck down as potential leaders of revolt against the tyranny of Soviet rule. Some dramatic incidents are worth noting. There seems to have been a system, in force for many years among the higher clergy, by which a large number of secret bishops were consecrated, but were given no actual jurisdiction. It was their duty to carry on in their ordinary sphere of life, but to step into the place of another when the blow fell. One prominent administrator of a province in Central Asia died a natural death about this time. To the amazement of the Soviet officials he was buried in full state as an Orthodox bishop—as in fact he was. Another was found to be the prior of a secret monastery. The presence of travelling priests throughout the country was noted by the government and is occasionally mentioned in *Pravda*. Small wonder that the government became nervous and struck out blindly in those two years of terror.

Once again, the end came suddenly with the dismissal of Yezhoff and a sudden change of policy. The new instructions were issued in January 1939, and we are

by then on the verge of the present world-war. How far is the amazing revival of Russian national spirit due to the hidden revival of Russian religious faith? Letters taken from captured or dead Russian soldiers during the Finnish war reveal the common use, in these letters home, of the old traditional religious salutations and prayers. But we can only guess as to the extent of religious faith; and our guesses must inevitably be influenced by the urgency of our desire to know that religion is far from being dead or dying in Russia. It is not necessary to take consolation from official or semi-official acts or words of the present rulers of Russia. Not so long ago, Stalin amazed his hearers by saying at a banquet in honour of American and British guests: "May God help President Roosevelt in his task." The cynical reader may well wonder what he meant by that phrase; and it is odd to read that Moscow radio, on August 21, 1941, called upon all "God-loving inhabitants of the occupied countries" to rise in defence of their freedom.

Professor Timasheff pays little heed to such passing phrases. His concern is with the very depths of the Russian soul. He may perhaps be over-optimistic in his estimate of the present position, but surely not in his estimate of the relative strength of the forces engaged in this great struggle between truth and error, between God and the forces of militant atheism. The author's heart appears in the writing of this book. We commend it to all our readers as a tonic in these grim days when we hear little or nothing save some new episode in an orgy of destruction. For the spirit is greater than all that is material; and the spirit must, in the end, prevail. P. D.

Studies in Poetry

THE HERITAGE OF SYMBOLISM. By C. H. Bowra. London: Macmillan. 1943. 15s.

Dr. Bowra's book which is occasionally provocative, though the general mildness of the exposition deprecates any such epithet, is an attempt to bring under a formula—Post-Symbolism—the work of five outstanding poets: the Irishman W. B. Yeats, two Germans Stefan George and R. Maria Rilke, the Russian Alexander Blok, and the Frenchman Paul Valéry. Of these Valéry alone survives and is now seventy-two. Blok, the junior of the group, would be sixty-three if he lived. No one of them, therefore, can be classed as of the twentieth century altogether, though their influence is still in varying degrees potent. This book is not Dr. Bowra's first approach to these men. We know his essay on Rilke's *Neue Gedichte* in Mr. Rose and Miss Craig Houston's volume; he has written on Blok. Yeats's personal friendship he enjoyed since the year of the poet's residence in Oxford.

The Heritage of Symbolism is a difficult undertaking, the complete success of which seems hardly guaranteed by the method of a brief introduction and conclusion in which symbolism plays the part of a leitmotif in overture and finale to be heard again somewhat confusedly in the analyses of the relevant works of the five. Not the least of the author's difficulties is that all these highly individual poets constantly overflow the bounds of any "ism," and he is constrained to relate them to phenomena which have little to do with their "heritage," unless that heritage be much more clearly and fully defined. Dr. Bowra is aware at the outset of this snare; but he becomes, nevertheless, distressingly entangled in its threads.

The French Symbolist movement which radiated into other countries was everywhere a complex phenomenon. The technique alone, linked as it is with Wagnerian and other music, demands either minute and expert exposition or full illustration. Anything else tends to become mere verbiage or to spell confusion. The movement too, had, in France and elsewhere, other aspects as fundamental as those presented in this book; and the absurd claims which, though not implicit in symbolism,

were made by or for some symbolists—Rimbaud, Rilke and George—to godlike rank " Beyond good and evil " are issues which are of the very stuff of their poetry and must be faced by the critic of literature. Indeed Gundolf, one of the George circle and the biographer of its chief, actually threw down a challenge to symbolist and post-symbolist in the myth which he fashioned out of the person and the work of the poet. The tale of the protagonists of French symbolism seems to me, too, strangely incomplete without the name of Arthur Rimbaud, the most remarkable of them all. I do not know that Dr. Bowra is even approximately right, in his chance judgment in the Blok essay and then only by way of aside, that Rimbaud had exhausted his power to write when he left Verlaine for a life of vagrant commerce. The mystery of the poet's renunciation after " Une Saison en Enfer " may well go deeper than this too easy solution. It has been variously dealt with by his fellow-countrymen and has a poignant interest.

Of the five poets—there is, in justification of Dr. Bowra's theme, no mistaking their possession of a common heritage. Yeats knew the poet as magician and was well aware of his incantatory power even in the theatre which he founded. His spiritism too, though there was a time when he derived it from Allingham and Edward Walsh, was esoteric and shared with Rilke, a more consistent and solitary " mystic " than he. A certain " aristocratism " he shared with Rilke and George ; but something in the air of his native land perhaps as well as in the character of its people saved him from the dread isolation and unnatural exaltation of his German contemporaries. Indeed what Yeats and Rilke had in common, apart from their " word-art," the chief heritage from the symbolists, has already been briefly tabulated by MacNiece, though a thesis might be written on their differences. Miss Butler has stressed the fairly obvious impact of Valéry's life and poetry on the Rilke of the Elegies and Sonnets. George's technique derived from Mallarmé, whose idea of poetry as a synthesis of philosophy, music and the plastic arts became common form. That German poet's fundamental philosophy derived, however, from Nietzsche, whose superman or demi-god passed over into post-symbolism just as surely as Wagner did and whose influence on it Dr. Bowra might well have taken into consideration.

Blok seems to stand apart, despite his characteristically symbolist use of Christian " mythology " and despite the recurrence in his work of such familiar symbolist themes as the creative process, the artist's " daimon " and the artistic idea as conditioning a world future. The Russian seems human in this world of often inhuman or falsely divine values. He knows, Dr. Bowra says, " the meaning of sin and shame " (so often repudiated by the others). He is full of pity and tenderness, emotions which that stern augur George rarely or ever professes ; the music of his verse and the integrity of his vision come across to us through the translation—perhaps one of the supreme tests of quality in an artist.

I do not agree with the author's restraint in biographical approach to his five, except in so far as it may proceed from that dislike of prying which all true critics share. The more intimate references to the poet's life here eschewed would, I feel, make the book more satisfying even to the initiated student. The anonymity of a mediæval poet does not matter at all. He belongs to an age of unity of belief and of a fixed social order. His postulates are known and his symbols have a general validity. Nothing of the sort obtains now ; and it seems to me incumbent on the critic, in an age of chaos and anarchy, to examine the sources of the poet's vision as well as the validity of his symbols. Dr. Bowra's Rilke chapter shows how useful apparently trifling biographical details are in elucidating the meaning of an image. The poet's mysteriously-forming mind retains perhaps something of the quality of a child's vision. Do not French commentators on Rimbaud believe that they have found in a kindergarten alphabet of the poet's infancy the germ of the famous " Sonnet des

Voyelles"? With how much more liveliness shall we read certain poems of Yeats when discriminating biographers shall have done for us a sifting, some of which, perhaps, time alone prevented the poet from doing himself?

On a somewhat different level but still skirting the biographical, I hold that a more considered inquiry, in the Stefan George chapter, into the Maximin cult as myth-making in "Der Siebente Ring" and "Der Stern des Bundes", often to Christian ears both blasphemous and idolatrous, is more germane to Dr. Bowra's present task than are the relations of the poet to the National Socialists or their or even the critic's interpretation of his work in the light of modern German political happenings. Nor do I agree at all that "*the visions which George gave to men took a strange and dangerous form in them.*" That the strangeness and the danger were inherent in the visions themselves, long before Stefan George in "Das neue Reich" seemed the poet of National Socialism, was confirmed for—among others—millions of Germans when Gundolf wrote his George book in 1921. Nor should a writer of the otherwise universal tolerance and determined discretion of Dr. Bowra stigmatise a sister nation (with whom his country happens to be at war) with an indignation which has hitherto spared any onslaughts by the symbolists on Christian conceptions and in a form of words strangely unsuited to the style of an aesthetic treatise. If the critic takes his stand "Jenseits vom Guten und Bösen," let him be rigidly consistent throughout.

MARY M. MACKEN

POLITICS AND SOCIOLOGY

THE MODERN DEMOCRATIC STATE. By A. D. Lindsay. Vol. I. Oxford University Press. 1943. 12s. 6d. net.

THE Master of Balliol in this book proposes to study "the modern democratic state which came into being in Western Europe, North America, and the British Dominions in the course of the nineteenth century. Bolschevism, Fascism, and National Socialism are all conscious reactions from it." The delimitation of the book rests upon a definite view of what political theory is. It is not a merely empirical account of the actual constitutions of states. It is a reflective or philosophical discipline. And yet it is relative to historical conditions. The precise nature of this relativity Mr. Lindsay explains by what he calls "the operative ideals" of society. Actual political speculation at any time is never merely ideal or utopian. Political theory is always a study of "what is actually operative; of the operative ideals which at any given time inspire men in their relations to law." The operative ideals of society are the outcome of a specific culture. Each specific culture produces a distinctive type of state. The Greek city state represented a distinctive type; so too did the medieval state of Europe and the European nation states of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

There are, I think, serious philosophical difficulties in Mr. Lindsay's way of stating the relativity of political theory to history: but there is no reason why he should not select for attention any particular historical phase. Since, however, any type of state must express "operative ideals" of some sort and since the reflective or philosophical mind will inevitably be driven to judge between them, we seem to arrive again at the last at the older classic political theory from which presumably it was important to escape. To say that this ultimate judgment belongs to ethics is to evade the problem rather than to solve it.

In any case, to understand the modern democratic state we must consider the various historical ideals out of which it has emerged. First, there is the heritage of Western Civilization—the Greek, the Roman and the Christian contributions. The chief political contribution of Graeco-Roman civilization was constitutionalism—the belief that governments must be subject to law. The most important contribution of Rome was the doctrine of the law of nature and the doctrine that the power to

make positive law came ultimately from the people. This latter doctrine of the source of political authority survived right through the medieval period ; and although it did not and could not, either in the later Roman or in the medieval world, imply the necessity of democratic institutions, it may have helped to keep alive the general democratic idea. The Christian contribution is first a doctrine of human equality, an equality having " far more depth and force " than the equality taught by the Stoics. More important was the fact that Christianity brought into existence another society, the Church, radically different from the state and able, as history was to show, to stand out against and to resist the state.

The most important contribution of Christianity, Mr. Lindsay thinks, to Western political thought " was its teaching of the moral ideal and the consequent imperfection and inadequacy of any existing social standards. The ancient world had supposed that it should be possible to formulate once for all the obligations of the good life . . . In contrast with this the injunction ' Be ye perfect as your Father which is in heaven is perfect ' implies that no historical moral standard can be final." (p. 61). Mr. Lindsay, in agreement with Troeltsch, thinks that this led to two societies and two moralities. " Medieval thought largely found the solution in a distinction between the secular and the religious life. It distinguished natural ethics, apprehended by human reason unaided by revelation, and the ethics of grace and perfection. The latter was to be lived in the specifically religious life. As variously conceived it found its embodiment in the rules of the various religious orders."

Although one constantly meets with this kind of account of medieval Catholicism, it has no basis whatever in actual medieval theory or fact. The Church was much more definite than " the ancient world " in thinking that " it was possible to formulate once for all the obligations of the good life." What admitted of degrees and of imperfection was the actual level of attainment, the extent to which the Christian ideal was operative either in the individual or in society. The idea that the supernatural life was in any sense confined to the religious orders is a complete travesty. Another irritating error, endlessly copied by one writer from another, is the statement that the medieval world did not accept the principle of the supremacy of conscience in the moral life.

The passing of the medieval state led to a repudiation of Christian values and the rise of absolutist states. This implied a doctrine of sovereignty which has dominated political theory from Bodin and Hobbes to Austin. The modern democratic state, Mr. Lindsay thinks, is endeavouring to restore in a new form the medieval values which absolutism had repudiated. In an interesting discussion of the historical theory of sovereignty—in the juristic form given to it by Austin and in the absolutist form of Rousseau's general will—Mr. Lindsay arrives at the conclusion that in constitutional states only the constitution itself is sovereign. This is a novel view and Mr. Lindsay argues for it with great skill. It implies, however, so radical a change in the meaning of sovereignty that there is something to be said for the abandonment of the whole idea of state sovereignty. If the idea must be retained, Mr. Lindsay's account of it is probably the least objectionable.

It is not possible in a brief review to refer even in a passing way to the many problems discussed by Mr. Lindsay. Although he is on familiar ground, he contrives to make his critical remarks both fresh and stimulating. No student of political theory can afford to neglect this book. His conclusions are sane and just and his argument is, I think, an acute and original vindication of the traditional Christian attitude in politics. That his book has a definitely English orientation is to be expected and is not necessarily a defect. Irish readers may turn, perhaps a little wistfully, to his references to our own political difficulties. Very naturally we come into the discussion of the disillusions of nationalism. Over-emphasis on nationalism was

one of the disastrous mistakes of the first World-war and we are now in the full tide of reaction. Nationality is a good thing and nationhood is a good thing, but recent experience in many countries has shown how subversive the idea of "nationalism" can be. Apparently we are ourselves an example of it :—

"Irish nationalism was the reaction of a subject people—subjected because of their religion and their race. Their achievement of political independence has therefore been so much tied up with their religion and their language that they have made it much more difficult than it need have been for the determinedly English-speaking Protestants of the north-east to throw in their lot with them. I remember listening in the spring of 1921 to a discourse by the poet and co-operator A. E. on the 'soul of Ireland.' It was a long and eloquent discourse, but it made me say: 'That may be the soul of Ireland, but it is certainly not the soul of Belfast.' To which A. E. replied: 'No! but there are strong economic and geographical reasons why the six counties should belong to Ireland.' No one was allowed to say that there were strong economic and geographical reasons why Ireland should be united with Britain. The nationalist sauce for the goose of Eire was not to be sauce for the gander of Northern Ireland, etc. . . ."

Passages of this kind are an engaging feature of this otherwise closely-reasoned and tightly-packed book. No doubt there is something in the argument; although, if one is in earnest with it, it proves too much. It resembles a little the argument of the bald-headed man, but it has also something of the merit of the disinterested spectator. It is not unpleasant to notice that A. E., who seemed so universally persuasive with the tender-minded, could not so readily penetrate the tough. The debate, however, was scarcely concluded when the native Goliath had been laid low with these polished pebbles of dialectic.

Two points in conclusion. The title of Locke's *Treatises of Civil Government* is twice incorrectly given. And who are the Jesuit theologians of the sixteenth century, who, we are told—apparently on the authority of Dr. Figgis—held the doctrine that what God commanded was right because He commanded it? It would be interesting to discover who they can be. D. O'K.

A BLACK BYZANTIUM. By S. F. Nadel. Oxford University Press. 1943. 25s.

THE investigation, of which this work contains a complete account, was undertaken under the auspices of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. Fellowships have been established by the Rockfeller Foundation of New York to enable specially trained men to undertake a scientific inquiry into the social organisation of selected units of African society. Dr. Nadel, a Viennese professor, chose for the field of his researches the kingdom of Nupe.

Nupe is situated on the Middle Niger. Its capital, Bida, lies due north of the point where the Niger enters the sea and at a distance of some 300 miles from the coast.

The object of the researches sponsored by the Institute is to discover the degree of coherence that native cultures present under the impact of alien, especially European, civilisation. Dr. Nadel spent two years amongst the Nupe in the course of two expeditions in the years 1934 and 1936. He carried out his task in a most efficient and painstaking manner. *A Black Byzantium* is a meticulous study of all the aspects of a rather complex social and political system. One marvels that the learned anthropologist could accumulate such a vast store of data in such a comparatively brief space of time. It is true that he was helped by the fact that he began with a knowledge of the Hausa language, the *lingua franca* of those parts, and in the course of a few months mastered the difficult tonic speech of the native Nupe peoples. He was hampered by the almost complete absence of all written

records. He was dependent for his information on oral traditions, which needed constant checking by personal investigation. So intimate did he become with native ways and customs that he had bestowed on him the title of Shaba—a mark of great esteem.

It is Dr. Nadel's opinion that a study of the origin and development of the Nupe kingdom sheds much light on the process by which modern nations and states evolved after the break-up of the Roman Empire. The beginnings of the 'Black Byzantium' are linked with the Portuguese settlements in Benin towards the end of the fifteenth century. At that time the kingdom of Benin was in a state of collapse. A semi-mythical person called Tsoede moved north from Idah with a band of followers and took up his position in an area near the confluence of the Niger and Kaduna rivers. This tradition evidently points to a large scale tribal movement to the north-east. The successors of Tsoede and their followers, the Nupe people, gradually extended their sway over the other tribes settled in the Niger and Kaduna valleys. During the reign of Ma'azu, nineteenth successor of Tsoede, when the Nupe culture and the Nupe power had attained their highest prestige, the Fulani made their appearance, coming from the north. Taking advantage of dissensions amongst the successors of Ma'azu, the Mohammedan invaders seized power and, quelling successive revolts, established themselves as a ruling caste in the territories of the Nupe. From the date of this conquest, in the third decade of the nineteenth century, there is a real historical record of the course of events. For many years it is a story of incessant strife, ending in the establishment of three dynastic houses in the capital Bida. The heads of these houses succeed to the throne in rotation.

There are two periods in the history of this Black State. The first runs from the Nupe conquest to the second decade of the nineteenth century—roughly about 200 years. The second period extends from 1820 to the present day. During the time that the Nupe people were consolidating their power and communicating their culture to the scattered communities that they successively brought under their control, there was a passage from the original isolation of the village to a certain measure of political unification. An African tribe does not form a political unity. The Nupe state was not coterminous with the territories occupied by members of the tribe; it comprehended, besides, groups that were of a distinct origin. But all were welded together by common interests and common antagonisms. The bond was one of security. This was strengthened by a sense of sharing in a common culture—the culture of the dominant people. The system was feudal. The villages with their outlying dependencies (tunga) were formed by families closely knit by ties of kinship. The chief was the head of the clan. This village system has survived almost unchanged until recent times. But now, under British indirect rule, the head of the village community is frequently a political agent and obtains his post by appointment. The natives speak of such a one as a money-chief as contrasted with the one who held sway by ancestral rights.

The Fulani conquest brought a considerable modification into the existing order of things. It did not break up but rather consolidated the Nupe empire. To it, however, it brought an alien religion and an alien culture. Mohammedanism was the faith of the ruling caste and, being such, had considerable prestige attached to it. The term pagan began to recapture its original signification—a villager or countryman addicted to an ignorant and superstitious cult. With Mohammedanism came letters. The Moslems established primary schools where the Koran was taught, and higher schools where the pupils learned 'knowledge.' Commerce flourished and, losing its old native character of barter, gradually assumed the features of modern trade. Urbanization followed the growth of commerce. The life of commerce was esteemed more honourable than that of agriculture. Money acquired great importance, for wealth offered access to the higher grades of society.

These higher grades or titles had been hitherto kept rigidly exclusive by the upper classes, who all belonged to the ruling caste. It was in the interest of this caste that the ruler (the Etsu Nupe) should be strong, for on the strength of his position depended the stability of their own status as a privileged class. The district and local chiefs held power from him, and their jurisdiction was severely limited. All important matters were reserved for decision at the capital, Bida. The Nupe kingdom presents many of the features of a feudal monarchy modernised.

Dr. Nadel does not institute an evaluation of the civilisation of which he has given such a detailed study. By implication, however, he reveals the trend of its reaction to the impact of European culture. This is the particular point that interests the Rockfeller Foundation of New York. The Nupe kingdom, having come to resemble so closely a modern state in its political and economic structure, cannot suffer much of a shock from contact with the outside world. It does not run much risk of disintegration.

This, however, is not something at which one zealous for the true welfare of the African must rejoice. The culture and the life-conditions that are painted in the pages of Dr. Nadel's book do not offer a pleasing picture. Disease is not less but, perhaps, more prevalent than in more primitive native centres. Infant mortality is high, the birth-rate very low. Native morality, in itself of a low standard, has been still further debased by the Fulani conquerors. The Mohammedan culture is a thin veneer over an original paganism that has lost some of whatever wholesomeness it possessed. To the simple native economy has succeeded one that finds its dynamism in the greed of the go-getter. Dr. Nadel writes (on page 401): "Common to both religious education and the age-grades is the social upward trend, the motive of rise and promotion. This upward trend appears indeed as the paramount motive in Nupe cultural life." The age-group associations that are referred to in this citation present a curious parallel to the youth organisations promoted in Germany and Italy. They differ, however, from the European type in that they are not state-imposed, but have their roots in the native instinct towards co-operation and exercise of power.

E. LEEN

THE JUDGEMENT OF THE NATIONS. By Christopher Dawson. London: Sheed and Ward. 1943. 8s. 6d. net.

IN this book Mr. Dawson deals with two problems—the disintegration of Western Civilization and the restoration of a Christian order. These are problems of quite a different kind. The first is an historical problem, and in dealing with it Mr. Dawson displays erudition and insight. The second is a problem of the future. To the future the Catholic attitude is always, in a wide sense and in the long run, optimistic. But there are at the moment only too many causes for *immediate* pessimism, and therefore it is of more than ordinary interest to have before us the, on the whole, cheerful forecast of so sagacious a political thinker as Mr. Dawson. Not that Mr. Dawson is an easy optimist. To him the present time is "the hour of darkness," and he dedicates his book—to the making of which four years have been devoted—"to all those who have not despaired of the republic, the Commonwealth of Christian peoples, in these dark times."

The change in the social and political worlds since the beginning of the twentieth century may well appear catastrophic. In the opening years of the century liberal democracy seemed triumphant in almost all the leading nations. There were not wanting observers who discerned in the social and political environment the seeds of instability and dissolution, and Mr. Dawson quotes in particular a remarkable forecast from the Russian thinker, Leontiev. Now that the change has come, it is easy enough to discover many of the causes which escaped contemporary observation. It is evident that the totaliterian movements of the Left and of the Right are not

the results of the efforts of individuals, however remarkable, but that the causes lie deeper down and further back. Again the roots of all that is valuable in Western Civilization and in Western democracy " lie deep in the soil of Western Christendom, so that it is impossible to understand it aright apart from its religious and cultural background." " Above all it derived its strength from the Christian belief in the absolute and unique value of the human soul, which infinitely transcends all the wealth and the power and the glory of the world." The sense of Christian liberty and Christian democracy became, in the course of time, the spiritual background of the social order. It is what is really vital in a civilization which often appears " hierarchic and authoritarian."

If then we recognize that Western civilization and Western culture owe their peculiar character to Christianity, we must ask ourselves why " in Western Europe institutional Christianity has long ceased to dominate society and culture." This is the tragic problem of modern history. Even liberal democracy, although it still clung to many of the Christian values and in particular to the human values which Christianity had developed and emphasised was, not infrequently, violently hostile to the Catholic Church. The origins of European disunity were, Mr. Dawson points out in an admirable historical survey, fundamentally religious. Christianity is no longer the rallying point of Western unity because religion itself is " a disunited and therefore a disunifying force."

The European culture of the middle ages was Christian. The disruption of Christian unity in the sixteenth century led to a secularization of culture which has made it impossible to preserve Christian values when their philosophical and religious foundations had been weakened. Out of Protestantism sprang both the totalitarian and the liberal ideas : from Lutheranism the State-worship of Germany and from Calvinism liberal individualism. The coming of the scientific and machine age, with its immense possibilities of planning and its universal control of individual activities, has intensified the problem of preserving ultimate values. Our secular civilization is so intent on what are merely means—on power and riches—that it is a hard task to make it realize that what ultimately counts in human life is ends—moral and religious values. But the very magnitude of the present calamity may lead those who realize how much may be lost to close their ranks and seek in Christian unity a force which alone can restore civilization. " It may seem utopian at this time to speak of the coming of a new Christian order—a new Christendom. But the more we recognize our distance from the goal and the immensity of the difficulties to be overcome, the more hope there is of ultimate success." Mr. Dawson's conclusion is that " the return to Christianity is therefore the indispensable condition for the restoration of a spiritual order and for the realization of the spiritual community which should be a source of new life for our civilization."

This does seem utopian, but Mr. Dawson thinks that all Christians may, for political purposes, unite on those points on which there is general agreement. For England, he finds in the Sword of the Spirit—a movement founded by Cardinal Hinsley—at least a beginning. D. O'K.

INDIAN POLITICS 1936—1942. By R. Coupland. Oxford University Press. 1943. 7s. 6d.

This is the second part of the report of Professor Coupland on the Indian constitutional problem. It deals with the interesting period inaugurated by the Government of India Act of 1935, which conferred full provincial autonomy on India and provided for the setting up of a Federation of India with a very considerable measure of independence.

To me the most interesting part of the book is Professor Coupland's analysis of Congress policy. The Constitution of Congress, which is reproduced in an

appendix, lays down its object very simply in Article I as the attainment of complete independence " by all legitimate and peaceful means." Article III of the Constitution throws membership open to all persons, without distinction of class, creed or nationality, who declare their belief in that object and who pay an annual subscription of 4 annas—equivalent to about 4 pence. The constitution could hardly be more democratic, except in one respect, the Working Committee—or the " high command " as it is commonly called— which is a nominated not an elected body. The paper constitution does not, however, tell the full story of Congress, as it assigns no official place to the man who, without holding any party office, is the virtual sovereign of the organization, " the permanent super-President " as Mr. Nehru calls him, Mr. Gandhi. Professor Coupland opines that Congress is not a political party in the ordinary sense, but a revolutionary body. This opinion does not harmonise with the avowed method, " all legitimate and peaceful means," nor with the well-known insistence of its leaders on non-violence.

There is ample material in Professor Coupland's book to support the view that Congress has become the victim of a bigoted pursuit of its own rather confused ideology in circumstances which render a doctrinaire application of its policy impracticable. The first facet of Congress political philosophy which does not square with the facts is its attitude towards democracy. Its constitution, its declaration of fundamental rights, its attitude towards the Nazi and Facist regimes, and its plans for a Constituent Assembly to frame India's future constitution, leave no room for doubt that Congress claims to be a democratic institution. But when we find a professedly democratic party placed under the control of a nominated Working Committee, we may expect departures from democratic tradition—and we get them. Take for instance the enforced resignation in 1939, at the behest of " the high command," of the seven provincial Congress governments while still retaining the firm support of majorities in the legislative assemblies and the electorates. We have heard of democratic governments being suppressed by *force majeure*, but it is unusual to see them voluntarily yielding up the power confided to them at the behest of an extern authority over which the electorate has not control.

Like other modern dictatorships, the Congress organization is unitarian and totalitarian, as pointed out by Professor Coupland. It claims to represent all classes and communities in an undivided and indivisible India, so that its motto might easily be " One State, One people, One Mahatma." Disillusionment has followed rapidly on the attempt to put this theory into practice, because the premises are unsound. India is not one State ; though if Congress had not forced the pace, it might have grown into a unity. India is not one people, and the totalitarian claim of Congress to represent all sections produced major reactions. The Moslem League grew to power and vigour in answer to the Congress claim to speak for the Mohammedan section. The resignation of the seven Congress Provincial Governments in 1939 has ever since been celebrated as a " day of deliverance " by the Mohammedans, and the determination to ensure that they will never again come under Congress rule has culminated in the demand for the partition of India by the creation of a separate Moslem state—Pakistan. The claim to speak for All-India had equally unfortunate effects in the Native States. Congress attempted and partially succeeded in forcing constitutional advance in certain states ; but the Princes took alarm, fearing that the internal governance of their states was threatened by Congress interference. As a result their reluctance to come under a federal constitution was confirmed and the Federation of India receded into the distance.

The autocratic impatience of Congress has been responsible for those set-backs. Reading Professor Coupland's book, one regrets that the party, whose promising record in its brief years of office in provincial government is fully acknowledged,

should have weakened its own position and forfeited confidence through a premature attempt to grasp sole power, which important sections in the country were not willing to entrust to it. F. C. K.

NATIONAL PATRIOTISM IN PAPAL TEACHING. By John J. Wright, Priest of the Archdiocese of Boston. Boston: The Stratford Co. 1942. pp. liii + 358.

It will, I think, be readily agreed that among the ideas on which, at the present moment, men and peoples are most deeply divided those of patriotism and of nationalism must be reckoned. Certain conceptions of nationalism on the one hand and on the other the disregard of nationalism have contributed to bring about the present conflict, and patriotism contributes to prolong it. It may, therefore, be fairly claimed that a book on the subject of national patriotism is at least timely.

Dr. Wright's book is, moreover, a valuable contribution to that subject; for it is a clear and exhaustive exposition of the teaching of the four great Popes Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI. The author has not contented himself with arranging his quotations in a suitable order and leaving them to speak for themselves. He has woven them into his text, has illustrated them from a wide range of literature, has provided an extensive bibliography (pp. 329–340) of his sources, and has completed the work with an alphabetical index which renders reference easy.

That the treatment of his theme is ample may be judged from the fact that the work runs to 460 pages, with over four hundred closely printed and often lengthy notes: it involved the study of 223 Papal documents. To summarize such a work would hardly be possible, but some notion may be given of the ground it covers and some slight indication of the main lines of Papal teaching.

The book is in three main divisions or Parts: Nature and Object of Patriotism; Principal Obligations of Modern Patriotism; National Patriotism & International Order. In Part I Dr. Wright points out the fact that the Popes fully recognize the value of "a lawful love of one's fatherland and a sentiment of due piety [in the Latin sense] towards one's own nation." It is "a great and noble sentiment productive of many virtues." This at once raises the questions what is meant by fatherland and what is a nation? Our author shows that, though the object of patriotism has varied from people to people and from age to age, "the fact to which the moral principles governing patriotism apply in our day is manifestly the nation" (p. 22).

What then is the nation? In reply Dr. Wright deals with false theories of what constitutes a nation. The claims of language as a scientific and necessary determinant of nationality are excluded as so contradicted by experience that they are no longer advanced as sufficient. Race, even in the wider sense of the term, is next excluded with copious quotations not only from papal documents but from a wide range of the literature of racialism (pp. 34–45). Neither is the nation constituted by the State. The distinction between the two concepts is clearly pointed out. There follows (pp. 52 sqq.) an admirable analysis of the factors, mainly sociological and psychological, which constitute nationality, and therefore of the origin and nature of the nation as this is the object of national patriotism.

Part II involves the study of some difficult and delicate questions of conscience. There is the apparent conflict between the obligation of patriotism to seek and maintain national union and the adherence of the individual to groups and parties within the State. There is the conflict, still more acute when it arises, between devotion to the Nation and loyalty to the State. And there is the question as to whether adherence to a certain religion or, in general, the difference of religious affiliations seriously mars national unity. Here comes in the question of the rights

of linguistic, racial, and religious minorities. Also the issue of the patriotic obligation of national defence.

Part III studies the apparent, and indeed possibly actual, conflict between national patriotism and internationalism. This can only come about through false notions of one or the other. On the one hand national patriotism may degenerate into that materialist, pagan, or exclusive nationalism condemned by the Popes, or there may be an exaggerated theory of national sovereignty. On the other, internationalism may be mere cosmopolitanism or may be even actively anti-patriotic.

Of special topical interest is the study (pp. 261–287) of contemporary nationalism in its manifold aspects—social, political, economic, cultural, and religious; the false solutions of the problem of nationalism by Communism, Socialism, and humanitarianism; and the solution in papal teaching. This solution involves the papal teaching on the means of preserving international peace.

This is a book deserving of study by statesmen, politicians, and all who control or direct public opinion. S. J. B.

HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RIGHT. Translated with notes by T. M. Knox. Oxford University Press. 1943. 21s. net.

PROFESSOR KNOX'S translation of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* will be of great value to students—indispensable for those who cannot go to the original directly and essential also for those who find the original, as most students do, very hard going. Professor Knox, in his notes, does what can be done to elucidate Hegel's meaning and to explain his references to sources and to his other philosophical writings. In any estimate of " what is living and what is dead " in the philosophy of Hegel, *Philosophy of Right* may well be taken as what is, at the moment, most living. Even if Hegel's direct political influence is not now very great, his indirect influence is enormous. Through Marx, who derives from the Hegelian Left, he has helped to shape the philosophy of Communism. Although Fichte may have been more directly influential in the theories of National Socialism, the influence of Hegel cannot be altogether denied. Such influence as Hegelianism may have exercised has, however, not been direct, but comes from the general consonance of Hegel's political theories with any form of absolutism. For Hegel the evolution of the State has been an evolution towards rational freedom; but freedom is so interpreted that it finds its ideal embodiment in the Prussian State.

Most of the actual modern developments would no doubt have been antipathetic to Hegel's philosophic mind, and in any case the strength of National Socialism does not lie on its theoretical side. Hegel's reference to the position of Jews in the State shows clearly enough that he has little sympathy with racial theories and that he recognises the ethical importance of men as men. " Thus technically it may have been right to refuse a grant of even civil rights to the Jews on the ground that they should be regarded as belonging not merely to a religious sect but to a foreign race. But the fierce outcry raised against the Jews, from that point of view and others, ignores the fact that they are above all, *men*."

Hegel's influence on English political theory may be said definitely to have receded with the first World War. But, in the later nineteenth century, writers like T. H. Green and Bosanquet tried to link Hegelianism with democracy. This may now seem paradoxical, and no doubt there is much force in the attacks on " the metaphysical theory of the State," with which we are all familiar. The ambiguity in the meaning of freedom gave a false plausibility to such theories, and it is vital to realize that even considerable emphasis upon the importance of freedom in general may go with an almost complete denial of the particular freedoms which are what the individual man finds essential to his happiness.

Even where Hegel emphasises the value of individual rights, he regards them

fundamentally as positive, and therefore as rights which the State at a certain stage of its evolution will concede. This marks a break with Christian tradition, but it is a break in no way peculiar to Hegel but almost universal in the political theorists of the nineteenth century. Hegel, in addition, gives a philosophical basis to the empirical theories of Machiavelli. The relations of independent States one with another are not a field for moral valuations. The sphere of the ethical lies within the State and war is an assertion of the ultimate nature of the organized State, success in war marking the importance of the State in world history.

Nowadays students sometimes complain that the effort needed to penetrate to Hegel's meaning is not worth making. Apart from the fact that it is not possible adequately to grasp the history of political speculation apart from such an effort, a knowledge of Hegel's political theories is essential for other reasons. If he is not a great original thinker like Kant, he is a great systematic thinker. About most problems he has something striking to say; and even where we cannot agree with him, we cannot afford to neglect him. Professor Knox's book gives us the historical environment out of which Hegel's political philosophy grew.

D. O'K.

Problem of Evil

GOD AND EVIL. By C. E. M. Joad. London: Faber and Faber. 1942. 8s. 6d.
THE PROBLEM OF PAIN. By C. S. Lewis. London: Bles. 1943. 3s. 6d.
ST. THOMAS AND THE PROBLEM OF EVIL. By Jacques Maritain. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1943. pp. 50.

All these books testify to the truth that when a man knows evil as evil he is very close to knowing God as good. Dr. Joad's is so frankly autobiographical that it is permissible to review the author as well as the book. It has always been obvious that he has a worthy dread of being humbugged into accepting any opinion. This dread has deterred him from joining any philosophical school, for he seems to fear surreptitious humbug in all conclusions taught by others and not discovered by his own unaided reason. But his pugnacity is wholly defensive and alienates none of those who like him for his kindliness and courageous honesty.

The urgency of facts has taught Dr. Joad where men have failed. The evil of a world at war has forced him by revulsion to recognise the necessary truth of his affirmations of moral good as a law refused by the world. His stalwart realism compels him to recognise the identity of truth and being and so of necessary truth with the truth founded in God, in Whom he once disbelieved. He does not seem to realise that he is treading here in the vestiges of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. But he cannot yet explain evil. For him it is virtually whatever is contrary to human desire, the human standard. Or rather it is what is contrary to the animal standard, for the essential evil of moral delinquency is for him its evil after-effects—war, famine, poverty, and disease. These are still for him gratuitous outrages upon nature, that lead him to conclude that God's power over His world is finite.

The book concludes with an attack upon Christianity which, however energetic, is so superficial as to suggest that Dr. Joad may soon change his opinion. This attack does not mention the Resurrection, the corner-stone of Christian apologetic. But Christianity lives because Christ lives, and its tomb remains empty as long as His own.

Mr. Lewis could instruct Dr. Joad on many points. His proof for the existence of God may indeed have suggested Dr. Joad's, who cites him as an exacting critic of his. According to Mr. Lewis it is impossible that our idea of the infinitely Good could have come from a world so shot through with evil as this one, or of the Superworldly (the Numinous) from any world. It must therefore be an experience of

God Himself. Persuasive and interesting, the proof is not at all so peremptory as Dr. Joad's from necessary *truth*. Anyone familiar with the doctrine of abstraction could explain how we can get some idea of perfection from the imperfect. The power to hypostasise abstractions could do the rest. But on the problem of evil (though he significantly concentrates on the problem of *pain*) Mr. Lewis is a great advance on Dr. Joad.

The limitation of being which is necessary to every creature extends to everything in the creature, even to its *reliability* to attain its purpose assigned by God. Things *will* go wrong, even when God has done His best, but the wrong will not result from any defect in God's measures but from the necessary nature of His instruments. This, though not novel, is undoubtedly helpful and is put in a novel form by Mr. Lewis. It helps him to show how God is in no way responsible for sin (which Mr. Lewis clearly recognises as the worst of all evils); for the power to sin is a necessity of freewill in a creature, and so sin itself as such is man's responsibility. God can only look on disapprovingly if He does not choose to prevent it, though He can connive more actively at physical evil.

But Mr. Lewis ignores the real crux of the problem of evil. Providence is that crux. Not a sparrow falls to the ground without God, and falling to the ground is certainly a bad business for the sparrow. God must be able to direct each of His creatures to its destiny with infallible precision, yet under His direction many things fall to the ground. How can these facts be reconciled with wisdom and goodness? Mr. Lewis does not answer and indeed makes us nervous with one or two of his conjectures as to what his answer would be. He thinks that God's liberty consists in a mere immunity from external interference, and that God has deliberately made himself feel a sense of lack and unfulfilment in not possessing creatures. Such speculations show that Mr. Lewis has not thoroughly probed the implications of the infinity of God. He is quite likely to be regarded amongst the greatest as an observer of spiritual action and an analyst of motive. But as an objective theologian and philosopher, despite his great ability, he is not yet perfectly trained and still abides our question.

St. Thomas after all gives the only answer to the problem of evil that is not fumbling. It is a pity that its intricacy has deterred Thomists too often from doing it full justice in their writings. M. Maritain therefore does a service by plucking the heart out of his solution and clearly expounding it. There is no such thing as the best of all possible worlds. But a world as good as possible under certain generic *respects* is possible and indeed required of God, if He creates at all, by His own dignity. But such a world necessarily contains beings that can suffer by the corruptibility of their bodies, and spirits that by mere limitations are *necessarily* capable of sin. To impede these possibilities would be to interfere with the laws of nature, to act supernaturally, and therefore God lets things take their course, content with providing the means to escape evil but not forcing them on His creatures—even in a sense " arranging " evil for the ultimate greater good of His masterpiece. Such is St. Thomas's mitigated optimism, odd as the name may seem for a doctrine so bleak in its majesty.

M. Maritain ends by discussing the problem how the will can *act* evilly without any presupposition of evil in the *being* of the agent. It seems to be a false problem, for the *intentional* existence of evil in the agent's mind seems the necessary and sufficient answer. M. Maritain however answers it by restating in disguise the old theory of the free pure omission. The will initiates evil by simply not considering its law, and this is a free non-act by which it can then determine itself to a lawless act. M. Maritain is here tacitly abandoning physical predetermination. Amongst those who join him in rejecting this doctrine many agree with the theory of the free pure omission, but many others hold that it is metaphysically unsound and in

any case solves no difficulty that cannot otherwise be solved. St. Thomas seems to be playing a double game here; for, besides the at first sight unambiguous text quoted by M. Maritain, he has for instance elsewhere (S.T. 1.115.6.c. etc.) the principle that an essential cause (*causa per se*) which is fully adequated and unimpeded necessarily acts. Hence the will, when fully equipped to act, *necessarily* acts, though it can determine its act. In other words it is free to refuse any good determinedly, but only by choosing another instead. A. L.

Miscellaneous

DER BAU DER EUROPÆISCHEN SPRACHEN. By E. Lewy. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1942. (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. XLVIII, Sect. C, No. 2). 4s. 6d.

While still professor of General Linguistics in Berlin University, Dr. Lewy had distinguished himself by a number of scholarly publications, among them a fundamental work on Tsheremiss, a Finno-Ugrian language spoken in eastern Europe, which had not previously been adequately studied. Since leaving Berlin he has added to his knowledge of languages, which was already wide. Few therefore are professionally so well qualified as Dr. Lewy to discuss the structure of our European languages.

Those who turn first to the English summary at the end of his paper will learn that "the result of this investigation reveals a structural relationship between (1) Basque, Spanish, Italian, French, Irish, English, and Swedish; (2) German and Hungarian; (3) Rumanian, Albanian, and Greek; (4) Lett, Russian, Finnish, Mordvin, and Tsheremiss. (5) A fifth kind of structure is represented by Urak (-Samoyed). These five groups, according to their geographical position," continues Dr. Lewy, "may be called (1) the Atlantic: (2) the Central; (3) the Balkan; (4) the Eastern, and (5) the Arctic group. They represent," he says, "different linguistic types: that of (1) isolation of flexion; (2) of word-flexion; (3) a demonstrative (or correcting) type; (4) that of stem-flexion and subordination, and (5) a fully subordinating type."

Readers, accustomed to the classic division of these languages into Indo-European, Finno-Ugrian, and Basque, will perhaps be encouraged by the novelty of these conclusions to tackle the 116 pages of German in which Dr. Lewy has stated the particular facts and general principles which have led him to his new classification. Etymology, on which the older classification is based, considers primarily the word-elements from which languages have sprung. Dr. Lewy prefers to consider languages as wholes whose grammar-patterns have resulted from the spirit of the peoples who have moulded them. To him it is of relatively little importance that English *man* and German *mann* have sprung from the same Indo-European word. The grammar-patterns of living languages, on the other hand, formed (as he holds) mainly by the spirit to express its needs, are of essential importance. Now certain grammar-patterns in Indo-European French and English, and in non-Indo-European Basque, resemble one another, and are often different from corresponding grammar-patterns in Indo-European German and Finno-Ugrian Hungarian. In French, for instance, in *la maison de cet excellent homme*, the genitive-sign *de* is separated from *excellent* and *homme*, much as English genitive *-s* is separated from *good* and *man* in *the good man I saw yesterday's house*, or as the Basque genitive-sign is separated from the noun in *gizon on-aren* 'the good man's' (where *gizon* means 'man', *on* means 'good', and *aren* is the article terminated by a genitive-sign). The German genitive-signs *-es*, *-en*, etc. cannot normally, on the other hand, be separated from the articles, nouns, and adjectives to which they are tied: *des*, *guten*, and *Mannes* in *das Haus des guten Mannes* will serve as examples. French, English, and Basque, are therefore to be classified in one group, because in this and in other respects

they have similar grammatical patterns. German, however, is to be placed in a separate class, largely because it is characterised by the contrary pattern of having case-signs permanently attached to words.

The contrast seen here by Dr. Lewy between the pattern he calls " isolation of flexion " and the pattern of " word-flexion " will serve as an example of the similarities and contrasts of grammatical pattern by which he judges linguistic kinship. His method may be said to resemble that of the art-critic rather than that of the scientist. For the scientist tends to analyse, while the art-critic judges the whole by a comprehensive grasp of its complex pattern. Some wholes are easily judged : it is easy to decide that a stone house is not a stone garden-roller. It is more difficult, however, to make up one's mind that this oil-painting is in the style of this great master and that other oil-painting in the style of another. So it is with the grammatical patterns discussed by Dr. Lewy in his stimulating paper ; to criticize his judgements in detail would call not alone for learning equal to his own but also for linguistic sensibility analogous to the art-sensibility which long familiarity with art-judgement has developed in art-critics today.

An art-critic sees connections between the culture of a period and the art of its artists. Dr. Lewy sees similar connections between European speech-development and European culture, for he is convinced that man's culture and his speech are moulded less by outside influences than by the strivings of his spirit towards an end. The machine-culture of modern Europe which separates the man from the action which his machine performs, seems, for instance, to Dr. Lewy to be connected with the speech-development by which the Englishman separates the subject from the verb in *I make*, while the Lett, who has not developed machine-culture, still joins subject and verb as did the ancient Roman in *facio*. This suggestion (which is proposed less abruptly and illustrated more broadly in the paper itself) will no doubt appear fanciful to some. The principle behind it should not, however, be dismissed *a priori*, for it may be that the group, in its slow altering of language, does, at a distance, reflect the personal spiritual activity of its members ; and some of Dr. Lewy's descriptions of languages certainly do seem to correspond in a subtle way to the descriptions that might be made of the art or literature of the peoples who speak those languages : his discovery of a variety of conflicting tendencies in the Irish language corresponds, for instance, to Mlle Henry's independent discovery of a variety of conflicting tendencies in early Irish art.

Principles and conclusions which at first sight seem farfetched may, therefore, on second thought seem at least worthy of consideration. And even were the principles and conclusions themselves to be abandoned, a great scholar's account of what he regards as the significant grammatical patterns of eighteen European languages cannot fail to be of interest to linguists. G. M.

THE RHETORIC OF ALCUIN AND CHARLEMAGNE. A Translation, with Introduction, the Latin Text and Notes. By Wilbur Samuel Howell. Princeton : University Press. London : Milford. 1941. 21s. 6d.

" THE Dialogue of the Most Wise King Charles and Master Alcuin concerning Rhetoric and the Virtues " : such is the full title of one of the most curious literary products of the Carolingian Renaissance. It was written according to the common opinion of scholars in 796—just four years before the coronation of Charles at Rome ; but Mr. Wilbur has made out a strong case for a date two years earlier, when Alcuin had just returned from Rome to the King's court at Aachen. It has survived in no less than twenty-six manuscript texts, of which at least half date from the ninth century—proof of the text's high value to Carolingian scholars. The *editio princeps* was printed by Menrad Molther at Haguenau and Paris in 1529, and there have been many more or less critical texts published since that date. Pithou included Alcuin's

dialogue in his *Rhetores Latini Minores* (1599), and Halm re-edited the text in 1863 for his own collection under the same title. Halm used only three ninth-century MSS. for his text, but Mr. Wilbur's careful study of the whole manuscript tradition has shown how sound was the great editor's choice of authorities. To quote Mr. Wilbur's own judgment: "The future editor will find several of Alcuin's other treatises in greater need of attention." Halm did valuable work also on the problem of Alcuin's sources, and here again the modern American scholar has added little to the Austrian scholar's conclusions.

The chief value of this new text is thus to be found in Mr. Wilbur's admirable translation, which is printed side by side with the original Latin text, on opposite pages throughout. A scholarly translation of this kind is in itself the best of commentaries, and the notes at the end of the volume deal mainly with the sources which Alcuin is using in each new passage of his Dialogue. Carolingian scholarship was essentially derivative, and Alcuin was chiefly concerned to give his own contemporaries, stirred by the ardour of their King's enthusiasm for the *artes liberales*, a trustworthy guide to ancient theories of eloquence and education. Mr. Wilbur has written a very full and competent Introduction, in which he deals with these problems. The ground he traverses is familiar to students of Greek and Roman rhetoric, but his survey is most useful for the student of Alcuin's handbook and is also an excellent general introduction to the study of the Carolingian Renaissance as a whole.

In these days of war-economy and paper-shortage it is a real pleasure to handle and read a book printed so clearly, and with such good taste, on paper that soothes the weary eye. A. G.

LIGHT BEFORE DUSK. Recollections. By Helen Iswolsky. New York and London: Longmans. 1942. 15s. net.

THERE is something infinitely pathetic about these reminiscences of Catholic and Orthodox life in Paris between the two wars. Miss Iswolsky is the daughter of the man who was Russian Ambassador to France in the years before 1914. Having worked and studied for many years in France she became a Roman Catholic of the Eastern Rite in 1923 and thereafter devoted herself to the work of preparing the way for reconciliation between the Roman and Russian Churches, a work specially encouraged by the late Holy Father Pius XI. Some years ago a very interesting little book by her, whose English title was *Soviet Man Now*, was published by Sheed and Ward. It was almost the first book to give its readers an idea of Russian religious conditions since the Revolution and of the remarkable power of resistance shown by the Orthodox to the official propaganda of atheism.

While resident in Paris, Miss Iswolsky moved in the highest intellectual circles, being a close friend of du Bos, Maritain, Berdiaeff and others whose ideas have had an enormous influence not only in France but all over the world. She was also very much in touch with various Catholic youth movements such as the *Esprit* group, the J.A.C., the J.O.C. and others. Her book is a chatty and informative, while not very critical or profound, account of the activities of these groups. All those with whom she worked are now dead, in exile, or lost from sight in occupied France, and her pages move one like a memory of a vanished world which can never be reconstituted as it once was. Probably the most interesting parts of her book are those in which she deals with the activities of the numerous Russian émigrés in France and with the prospects and difficulties of Reunion, though here again she is perhaps too superficial to be entirely satisfying. Readers of Berdiaeff will appreciate her glimpses of his family life and of the circle of students and admirers she met at his house in Clamart. The book ends with a chapter on Catholic intellectual life in France since 1940. M. T.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SIR PATRICK DUN'S HOSPITAL. By T. G. Moorehead, M.D. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co. 1942. 7s. 6d.

A COMPREHENSIVE history of medicine in Ireland, tracing the various phases of its evolution from early Christian times to the present, is a work much to be desired. The amount of material available for such an undertaking is immense. In various repositories lie manuscripts, a large number of which remain untouched, that throw light on the progress of medicine in this country. Down to the middle of the seventeenth century, and indeed later, the profession of healing was hereditary in particular families, and within the scope of a history of Irish medicine would be included an account of the O'Hickeys, O'Lees, O'Cassidys, Dunlevys, O'Callanans and the others whose writings show how they kept abreast of the scientific knowledge then in vogue throughout Europe. It would include, too, a survey of those Irishmen who, like so many of their compatriots, were trained abroad in the medical schools of Leyden and Rheims and Montpellier, and some of whom were chosen as chief physicians by kings and emperors at the courts of Spain and France and Russia. Some years ago the lectures of that distinguished physician, Sir Norman Moore, raised hopes that he might give us such a work—he possessed all the equipment necessary for it—but his death dissipated these hopes.

In this latest addition to the bibliography of Irish medical history Dr. Moorehead gives an account of the development of Sir Patrick Dun's hospital from its foundation in 1810 to the present day. Patrick Dun was a Scottish physician who came to Ireland some fifteen years before the Jacobite War of 1690. He rose to eminence in his profession, was several times president of the College of Physicians, acted as physician to the Williamite army, and in 1692 became a member of the parliament in Ireland. He died in 1711 and bequeathed in his will most of his property for the purpose of establishing a chair of physic in the Dublin College of Physicians. There was no provision in the will for the founding of a hospital, but in 1791—eighty years after his death—an act was passed by the colonial parliament in College Green empowering the College of Physicians to raise £1,000 on Sir Patrick Dun's estates with the object of building a hospital, and the present building in Grand Canal Street was opened in 1808.

In his interesting book Dr. Moorehead gives short sketches of many of the more notable physicians connected with the institution. One of the very first attached to its staff was the illustrious Whitley Stokes, the friend of Wolfe Tone and described by the Irish patriot as " the very best man I have ever known." Stokes, it will be remembered, was expelled from Trinity College in 1798 for his patriotic opinions. In the succeeding generation that renowned physician, Robert Graves, lectured too in the wards of the hospital. Of another medical notability connected with it, Jonathan Osborne, Dr. Moorehead relates a humorous story. A martyr to rheumatism in old age, he expressed a wish before death that he should be buried in the upright position " as he did not want any fellow at the Resurrection to have an advantage over him." His request was complied with, and today one can see his coffin in St. Michan's vaults standing perpendicularly. Elsewhere, too, there is what must be unconscious humour lighting up a serious page of this interesting book. Those of us who remember the uprising of 1916 cannot help being tickled by the legend over the O.T.C. commemoration bed in Dun's hospital—it was, one reads, " endowed by Citizens of Dublin in recognition of the gallant defence of Trinity College at Easter 1916 " !

There is a deep and lifelong affection among doctors for the hospital of their student days, and this book must make special appeal to those of them whose *alma mater* was Dun's. It will appeal, too, to those outside the medical profession who know the splendid work this old Dublin hospital has done and is doing among the poor of our country's capital. And it will be of value for the writer who, one hopes, will some day give us a complete history of Irish medicine. R. H.

(The list of books received has been unavoidably held over)

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